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ATHENAEUS

THE LEARNED BANQUETERS

BOOKS III.106e–V



*Edited and Translated by*  
S. DOUGLAS OLSON

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## PREFACE

For a general introduction to Athenaeus and *The Learned Banqueters*, and to my citation conventions, see the beginning of Volume I. I would like to reiterate my gratitude to Dean Steven Rosenstone of the College of Liberal Arts at the University of Minnesota for his continuing support of my research. Thanks are also due my research assistant Timothy Beck, as well as Christy Marquis, whose work on the text of Books 1–5 was generously supported by a grant from the Graduate Research Partnership Program. This volume is dedicated to my guardian, guide, and friend Barbara Lehnhoff, for whose unfailing support, good humor, and kind advice I will always be grateful.



## ABBREVIATIONS

|                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| Berve              | H. Berve, <i>Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage</i> ii <i>Prosopographie</i> (Munich, 1926)  |
| Billows            | R. A. Billows, <i>Antigonos the One-Eyed and the Creation of the Hellenistic State</i> (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1990)  |
| Bradford           | A. S. Bradford, <i>A Prosopography of Lacedaimonians from the Death of Alexander the Great, 323 B.C., to the Sack of Sparta by Alaric, A.D. 396</i> ( <i>Vestigia</i> 27: Munich, 1977) |
| Braund and Wilkins | D. Braund and J. Wilkins (eds.), <i>Athenaeus and His World: Reading Greek Culture in the Roman Empire</i> (Exeter, 2000)   |
| FGE                | D. L. Page (ed.), <i>Further Greek Epigrams</i> (Cambridge, 1981)   |
| FGrH               | F. Jacoby (ed.), <i>Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker</i> (Leiden, 1923–69)   |
| FHG                | C. and T. Müller, <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> (5 vols.: Paris, 1841–70)   |
| GGM                | C. Müller, <i>Geographi Graeci Minores</i> (3 vols.: Paris, 1855–61)  |
| GPh                | A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page (eds.), <i>The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip</i> (Cambridge, 1968)   |

## ABBREVIATIONS

|           |   |
|-----------|---|
| HE        | A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page (eds.), <i>The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams</i> (Cambridge, 1965)  |
| IG        | <i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>  |
| K-A       | see PCG   |
| PA        | J. Kirchner, <i>Prosopographia Attica</i> (Berlin, 1901-3)  |
| PAA       | J. Traill (ed.), <i>Persons of Ancient Athens</i> (Toronto, 1994- )   |
| PCG       | R. Kassel and C. Austin (eds.), <i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i> (Berlin and New York, 1983- )   |
| PMG       | D. L. Page (ed.), <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> (Oxford, 1962)  |
| Poralla   | P. Poralla, <i>A Prosopography of Lacedaemonians from the Earliest Times to the Death of Alexander the Great (X-323 B.C.)</i> <sup>2</sup> (revised by A. S. Bradford: Chicago, 1985) |
| SH        | H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons (eds.), <i>Supplementum Hellenisticum</i> (Texte und Kommentar, Band 11: Berlin and New York, 1983)   |
| SSR       | G. Giannantoni, <i>Socratis et Socraticorum Reliquiae</i> (4 vols.; n.p., 1990)   |
| Stephanis | I. E. Stephanis, <i>Διονυσιακοὶ Τεχνίται</i> (Herakleion, 1988)   |
| SVF       | J. van Arnim (ed.), <i>Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta</i> (3 vols.; Leipzig, 1921, 1903)   |
| TrGF      | B. Snell et al. (eds.), <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> (Göttingen, 1971- )   |
| West, AGM | M. L. West, <i>Ancient Greek Music</i> (Oxford, 1992)   |

## THE CHARACTERS

ATHENAEUS, the narrator; also a guest at the dinner party  
TIMOCRATES, Athenaeus' interlocutor

AEMILIANUS MAURUS, grammarian (e.g. 3.126b)

ALCEIDES OF ALEXANDRIA, musician (1.1f; 4.174b)

AMOEBEUS, citharode (14.622d–e)

ARRIAN, grammarian (3.113a)

CYNULCUS, Cynic philosopher whose given name is  
Theodorus (e.g. 1.1d; 3.97c)

DAPHNUS OF EPHEBUS, physician (e.g. 1.1e; 2.51a)

DEMOCRITUS OF NICOMEDIA, philosopher (1.1e; 3.83c)

DIONYSOCLES, physician (3.96d, 116d)

GALEN OF PERGAMUM, physician (e.g. 1.1e–f, 26c)

LARENSIUS, Roman official and also host of the party  
(e.g. 1.2b–3c; 2.50f)

LEONIDAS OF ELIS, grammarian (1.1d; 3.96d)

MAGNUS (e.g. 3.74c)

MASURIUS, jurist, poet, musician (e.g. 1.1c; 14.623e)

MYRTILUS OF THESSALY, grammarian (e.g. 3.83a)

PALAMEDES THE ELEATIC, lexicographer (9.379a)

PHILADELPHUS OF PTOLEMAIS, philosopher (1.1d)\*

PLUTARCH OF ALEXANDRIA, grammarian (e.g. 1.1c–d;  
3.83b)

PONTIANUS OF NICOMEDIA, philosopher (1.1d; 3.109b)



## CHARACTERS

RUFINUS OF NICAIA, physician (1.1f)\*

ULPIAN OF TYRE, grammarian and also symposiarch  
(e.g. 1.1d–e; 2.49a)

VARUS, grammarian (3.118d)

ZOILUS, grammarian (e.g. 1.1d; 7.277c)

\* Neither Philadelphus nor Rufinus is said to speak anywhere in the preserved text of *The Learned Banqueters*, and most likely some of the anonymous speeches in 1.2a–3.73e (represented in the Epitome manuscripts only) belong to them.

# THE LEARNED BANQUETERS

# Γ

- 106e Ἐξῆς εἰσεκομίσθη ταγηνιστὰ ἥπατα περιειλημένα  
τῷ καλουμένῳ ἐπίπλῳ, ὃν Φιλέταιρος ἐν Τηρεῖ ἐπί-  
πλοιοι ἐῖρηκεν. εἰς ἃ ἀποβλέψας ὁ Κύνουλκος, λέγε  
f ἡμῖν, ἔφη, ὦ σοφὲ Οὐλπιανέ, | εἴ που κείται οὕτως τὸ  
ἥπαρ ἐντετυλιγμένον. καὶ ὅς· εἰάν πρότερον δείξης σὺ  
παρὰ τίνι ὁ ἐπίπλους εῖρηται ἐπὶ τοῦ λίπους καὶ τοῦ  
ύμένος. ἀντικορυσσομένων οὖν τούτων ὁ Μυρτίλος  
ἔφη· ὁ μὲν ἐπίπλους παρ' Ἐπιχάρμῳ ἐν Βάκχαις·

καὶ τὸν ἀρχὸν ἐπικαλύψας ἐπιπλόῳ.

- 107 καὶ ἐν Θεαροῖς·||

< . . . > ὁσφύος τε πέρι κήπιπλόου.

καὶ ὁ Χίος δὲ Ἴων ἐν ταῖς Ἐπιδημίαις ἔφη· τῷ ἐπίπλῳ  
ἐπικαλύψας. ἀπέχεις, φίλη κεφαλὴ Οὐλπιανέ, τὸν ἐπί-  
πλουν, ἵν' ἤδη ποτὲ αὐτῷ ἐντυλιχθεὶς κατακαυθῇς καὶ  
πάντας ἡμᾶς ζητήσεων ἀπαλλάξῃς. τὸ δὲ μαρτύριον  
τοῦ οὕτως διεσκευασμένου ἥπατος δίκαιος εἶ σὺ ἀπο-  
μνημονεύσαι, προειρημένου σοι πάλαι ὅτε περὶ τῶν  
ὠτίων καὶ ποδῶν ἐζητοῦμεν, <ὅτι> Ἄλεξις ἐν Κρατεία



### BOOK III (continued)

Immediately after this, fried livers were brought in wrapped in what is called *epiplous* ("omentum, caul"),<sup>1</sup> which Philetaerus in *Tereus* (fr. 16) refers to as *epiploios*. Cynulcus looked at them and said: Tell us, wise Ulpian, if liver wrapped this way is attested anywhere. And he said: If you first show me in what author *epiplous* is used for the fat and the caul! As the two of them were butting heads, Myrtilus said: The word *epiplous* is found in Epicharmus' *Bacchants* (fr. 16):

and covering the leader with an *epiplous*.

And in *Envoys* (fr. 69):

around a tailbone and an *epiplous*.

Ion of Chios too said in his *Travels* (FGrH 392 F 5): covering it with the *epiplous*. You are reserving the *epiplous*, my dear Ulpian, so that you can eventually be wrapped in it and burned, freeing us all of your questions. But you ought to cite the evidence for liver prepared this way, since you noted earlier,<sup>2</sup> when we were exploring the question of ears and feet, that Alexis uses the word in *Crateia* or *The*

<sup>1</sup> The membrane that lines the walls of the abdominal cavity and encloses the viscera.      <sup>2</sup> At 3.95a.

- ἡ Φαρμακοπώλη εἶρηκε. πᾶσα δ' ἡ ἐκλογὴ χρησίμη  
 b οὔσα εἰς πολλά, ἐπεὶ τὰ | νῦν διὰ μνήμης οὐ κρατεῖς,  
 αὐτὸς ἐγὼ διεξελεύσομαι. φησὶ δ' οὕτως ὁ κωμικός·

- πρῶτον μὲν <οὔν> ὄστρεια παρὰ Νηρεῖ τινι  
 ἰδὼν γέροντι φυκί' ἡμφιεσμένα  
 ἔλαβον ἐχίνους τ'. ἔστι γὰρ προοίμιον  
 δείπνου χαριέντως ταῦτα πεπρυτανευμένον.  
 τούτων δ' ἀπολυθείς, κειμένων ἰχθυδίων  
 μικρῶν, τρεμόντων τῷ δέει τί πείσεται,  
 θαρρεῖν κελεύσας ἔνεκ' ἐμοῦ ταῦτ', οὐδὲ ἐν  
 c φήσας ἀδικήσειν, ἐπριάμην γλαῦκον μέγαν. |  
 ἔπειτα νάρκην ἔλαβον, ἐνθυμούμενος  
 ὅτι δεῖ γυναικὸς ἐπιφερούσης δακτύλους  
 ἀπαλοὺς ὑπ' ἀκάνθης μηδὲ ἐν τούτους παθεῖν.  
 ἐπὶ τὸ τάγηνον φυκίδας, ψήττας τινάς,  
 καρῖδα κυφήν, κωβιόν, πέρκην, σπάρον,  
 ἐπόησά τ' αὐτὸ ποικιλώτερον ταῶ.  
 κρεάδι' <ἄττα>, ποδάρια, ῥύγχη τινά,  
 d ὠτάρι' ὕει', ἡπάτιον ἐγκεκαλυμμένον. |  
 αἰσχύνεται γὰρ πελιδνὸν ὃν τῷ χρώματι.  
 τούτοις μάγειρος οὐ πρόσεισ' οὐδ' ὄψεται.  
 οἰμώξεται γὰρ νῆ Δί'. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σοφῶς  
 ταῦτ' οἰκονομήσω καὶ γλαφυρῶς καὶ ποικίλως  
 οὕτω, ποῶ γὰρ τοῦψον αὐτός, ὥστε τοὺς  
 δειπνοῦντας εἰς τὰ λοπάδι' ἐμβάλλειν ποῶ

<sup>3</sup> Properly the Old Man of the Sea (cf. 1.6e–f); here an aged fish-seller. <sup>4</sup> An unidentified shark of some sort.

### BOOK III

*Pharmacist.* Because the entire quotation is useful for a number of purposes and you cannot recall it at the moment, I will recite the whole piece myself. The comic poet says the following (fr. 115):

First of all, then, I spotted oysters wrapped  
in seaweed in the stall of some old Nereus,<sup>3</sup>  
and I bought them and some sea-urchins; for these  
are the prelude to a well-organized dinner.

After I took care of them, some tiny fish were  
lying there, trembling in fear of what was going to  
happen to them.

I told them not to worry about me, declared  
that I would do them no harm, and purchased a large  
*glaukos*<sup>4</sup>.

Next I bought an electric eel, keeping in mind  
that when a woman lays her soft fingers on it,  
they shouldn't suffer any harm from its sting.  
For the frying-pan I got wrasses, some flatfish,  
a curved shrimp, a goby, a sea-perch, and a sea-  
bream;

and I made the pan more colorful than a peacock.  
Some chunks of meat, pigs' feet, some snouts,  
pigs' ears, a small liver wrapped up  
(for it was ashamed of its livid color);  
no cook is going to get near these items or even look  
at them.

Because he'll be sorry if he does, by Zeus! Instead,  
I'll

take care of them so wisely, elegantly, and subtly—  
because I do my own cooking—that  
I'll make the guests chew on the casserole-dishes



ἐνίοτε τοὺς ὀδόντας ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς.  
 τὰς σκευασίας πάντων δὲ καὶ τὰς † σκευάσεις †  
 e τούτων ἔτοιμός εἰμι δεικνύειν, λέγειν, |  
 προῖκα προδιδάσκειν, ἂν θέλῃ τις μανθάνειν.

ὅτι δ' ἔθος τῷ ἐπίπλῳ περικαλύπτεσθαι τὰ ἡπάτια,  
 Ἡγήσανδρος ὁ Δελφὸς ἐν Ὑπομνήμασί φησι Μετά-  
 νειραν τὴν ἐταίραν ὡς ἐν τοῖς κεκαλυμμένοις ἡπατίοις  
 αὐτὴ πνευμόνιον ἔλαβε καὶ ὡς περιελούσα τὸ στέαρ  
 εἶδεν, ἀνέκραγεν·

ἀπόλωλα· πέπλων μ' ὤλεσαν περιπτυχαί.

μήποτε δὲ καὶ Κρώβυλος ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς αἰσχυνό-  
 μενον εἶπε τὸ τοιοῦτο ἦπαρ ὥσπερ καὶ Ἀλεξίς, ἐν  
 f Ψευδνποβολιμαίῳ λέγων οὕτως· |

καὶ πλεκτάνην στιφρὰν σφόδρ' ἐν τούτοις τέ που  
 αἰσχυνόμενον ἦπαρ καπρίσκου σκατοφάγου.

ἡπάτιον δ' εἶρηκεν Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ταγηνισταῖς καὶ  
 Ἀλκαῖος ἐν Παλαίστρᾳ Εὐβουλός τ' ἐν Δευκαλίῳ.  
 δασυντέον <δὲ> λέγοντας τὸ ἦπαρ· καὶ γὰρ ἡ συν-  
 αλοιφή ἐστίν παρ' Ἀρχιλόχῳ διὰ δασέος. φησὶ γάρ·

108 < . . . > χολὴν γὰρ οὐκ ἔχεις ἐφ' ἥπατι. ||

ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἰχθύς τις ἥπατος καλούμενος, ὃν φησιν

<sup>5</sup> Quoted at 3.96c.

<sup>6</sup> *eph' hēpati*. If the word had a smooth breathing, the text would read *ep' ēpati*.

### BOOK III

occasionally out of sheer pleasure.

As for my recipes for everything and my [corrupt],  
I'm prepared to show them off, describe them,  
even teach them for free, if anyone wants to learn  
them.

As for it being customary for livers to be wrapped in omentum, Hegesander of Delphi says in his *Commentaries* (fr. 29, *FHG* iv.419) that when the courtesan Metaneira took a lung from a platter of wrapped livers and removed the fat and saw it, she cried (adesp. tr. fr. 91):

I am lost! The folds of my garments ruined me!

Perhaps Crobylus the comic poet too claimed that liver prepared this way is ashamed, as Alexis did (fr. 115.17, above), when he said the following in *Falsely Suppositious* (fr. 7):

and a very stout tentacle, and somewhere among  
those items  
an ashamed liver of a shit-eating boar.

Aristophanes uses the word *hēpation* ("small liver") in *Frying-Pan Men* (fr. 520.4)<sup>5</sup>, as do Alcaeus in *The Wrestling School* (Alc. Com. fr. 25) and Eubulus in *Deucalion* (fr. 23). The word should be pronounced *hēpar*, with a rough breathing; and in fact a coalescence with a rough breathing is found in Archilochus (fr. 234 West<sup>2</sup>), since he says:

for you have no bile in your liver.<sup>6</sup>

There is also a fish called the *hēpatos*. The same Eubulus

<ὁ> αὐτὸς Εὐβουλος ἐν Λάκωσιν ἢ Λήδα οὐκ ἔχειν  
χολήν.

οὐκ ὧς <σύ> με  
χολήν ἔχειν, ὡς δ' ἡπάτω μοι διελέγου;  
ἐγὼ δέ γ' εἰμὶ τῶν μελαμπύγων ἔτι.

Ἑγήσανδρος δ' ἐν Ὑπομνήμασιν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ φησι  
τὸν ἡπατον δύο λίθους ἔχειν τῇ μὲν αὐγῇ καὶ τῷ  
χρώματι παραπλησίους τοῖς <ἐν τοῖς> ὀστρείοις, τῷ  
δὲ σχήματι ῥομβοειδεῖς.

Ταγηνίστων δ' ἰχθύων μνημονεύει Ἀλεξίς ἐν Δη-  
μητρίῳ | καθάπερ κὰν τῷ προκειμένῳ δράματι. Εὐ-  
βουλος Ὀρθάνη.

πᾶσα δ' εὐμορφος γυνή  
ἐρώσα φοιτᾷ τηγάνων τε σύντροφα  
τριβαλλοπανόθρεπτα μεираκύλλια,  
όμοῦ δὲ τευθὶς καὶ Φαληρικὴ κόρη  
σπλάγχνοισιν ἀρνείοισι συμμεμιγμένη  
πηδᾷ, χορεύει, πῶλος ὥς ὑπὸ ζυγοῦ.  
ρίπις δ' ἐγείρει φύλακας Ἑφαιστοῦ κύνας  
θερμὴν παροξύνουσα τηγάνου πνοήν.  
c ὁσμὴ δὲ πρὸς μυκτῆρας ἡρεθισμένη |  
ἄσσει μεμαγμένη δὲ Δήμητρος κόρη  
κοίλην φάραγγα δακτύλου πιέσματι

<sup>7</sup> I.e. any capacity for anger.

<sup>8</sup> A "black-butt" is someone as tough as Heracles; cf. Ar. *Lys.* 802-3; Fraenkel on A. Ag. 115.

### BOOK III

claims in *Spartans or Leda* (fr. 61) that it lacks bile:

Didn't you think  
I had any bile,<sup>7</sup> when you were talking to me like I'm  
a *hēpatos*?

In fact, I'm still one of the black-butts.<sup>8</sup>

Hegesander says in the *Commentaries* (fr. 37, *FHG* iv.420) that the *hēpatos* has two stones in its head that resemble those found in oysters<sup>9</sup> in their luster and color, but are rhombus-shaped.

Alexis mentions frying-pan fish in *Demetrius* (fr. 51), as well as in the play cited above (fr. 115.12). Eubulus in *Orthannēs* (fr. 75):

Every well-built woman  
who's in love comes, as do the nurslings of frying-  
pans,  
pan-nourished-Triballian young men;<sup>10</sup>  
and along with them a squid and a Phalerian girl<sup>11</sup>  
mixed with sheep entrails  
leap and dance like a colt escaping the yoke.  
A fan rouses up Hephaestus' watchdogs<sup>12</sup>,  
stimulating the warm breath of the frying-pan;  
and the smell, stirred up, rushes toward  
the nostrils. The kneaded daughter of Demeter<sup>13</sup>  
has a hollow cleft made in her by a finger's

<sup>9</sup> Pearls.

<sup>10</sup> The Triballians were a Thracian tribe whose name was borrowed by a group of wild young Athenians (D. 54.39).

<sup>11</sup> A riddling reference to small-fry from the Bay of Phaleron.

<sup>12</sup> The coals of the fire, which have been sleeping quietly.

<sup>13</sup> A barley-cake.

# ATHENAEUS

σύρει τριήρους ἐμβολὰς μιμουμένη,  
δείπνου πρόδρομον ἄριστον.

ἦσθιον δὲ καὶ ταγηνιστὰς σηπίας. Νικόστρατος ἢ  
Φιλέταιρος ἐν Ἀντύλλῳ φησὶν·

οὔποτ' αὖθις  
σηπίαν ἀπὸ τηγάνου  
τολμήσαιμι φαγεῖν μόνος.

Ἡγήμων δ' ἐν Φιλίνῃ καὶ γόνον ἐκ ταγήνου ἐσθί-  
οντας ποιεῖ ἐν τούτοις·

d μάλα ταχέως αὐτῶν πρίω <μοι> πουλύπουν  
καὶ δὸς καταφαγεῖν, καπὸ τηγάνου γόνον. |

Ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐχ ἦσθεις ὁ Οὐλπιανός, ἀνιαθεὶς δέ,  
ἀποβλέψας ὡς ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰ ἐξ Ὀρθάννου Εὐβούλου  
ιαμβεῖα εἰπών·

ὥς εὖ νενανάγηκεν ἐπὶ τοῦ τηγάνου  
ὁ θεοῖσιν ἐχθρὸς

Μυρτίλος· ὅτι γὰρ οὐδὲν τούτων πριάμενός ποτε ἔφα-  
γεν εὖ οἶδα, τῶν τινος οἰκετῶν αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος μοί ποτε  
τὰ ἐκ Πορνοβοσκοῦ Εὐβούλου ιαμβεῖα τάδε·

e τρέφει με Θετταλός τις ἄνθρωπος βαρύς,  
πλουτῶν, φιλάργυρος δὲ κάλιτήριος, |  
ὀψοφάγος, ὀψωνῶν δὲ μέχρι τριωβόλου.

ἐπεὶ δὲ πεπαιδευμένος ἦν ὁ νεανίσκος καὶ οὐχὶ παρὰ

### BOOK III

pressure so that she resembles a trireme's ram,  
and is the best prelude to a dinner.

They also ate fried cuttlefish. Nicostratus or Philetaerus  
says in *Antyllus* (Nicostr. fr. 6):

Might I never again  
venture to eat a squid  
from a frying-pan by myself!

Hegemon in *Philinnē* (fr. 1) represents people eating  
small-fry out of a frying-pan in the following verses:

Very quickly buy me an octopus with this money  
and give it to me to eat, along with small-fry from a  
frying-pan!

Ulpian was not pleased at these remarks but annoyed;  
he looked straight at us and recited the iambic lines from  
Eubulus' *Orthannēs* (fr. 76):

What a fine shipwreck on the frying-pan  
for the god-detested

Myrtilus! For I am certain that he never purchased any of  
these items and ate them, since one of his slaves once  
quoted me the following iambic lines from Eubulus' *The  
Pimp* (fr. 87):

My master is an overbearing Thessalian,  
a wealthy man but a miser, a sinner,  
and a glutton—but one who spends only three obols  
when he shops for food.

Since the boy had been educated—not while he belonged



τῷ Μυρτίλῳ γε, ἀλλὰ παρὰ ἄλλῳ τινί, ὥς ἐπυνθανό-  
μην αὐτοῦ πῶς εἰς τὸν Μυρτίλον ἐνέπεσεν, ἔφη μοι τὰ  
ἐκ Νεοττίδος Ἀντιφάνους τάδε·

παῖς ὢν μετ' ἀδελφῆς εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐνθάδε  
ἀφικόμην ἀχθεὶς ὑπὸ τινος ἐμπορίου,  
Σύρος τὸ γένος ὢν. περιτυχὼν δ' ἡμῖν ὁδὶ  
κηρυττομένοις ὀβολοστάτης ὢν ἐπρίατο,  
f ἄνθρωπος ἀνυπέρβλητος εἰς πονηρίαν, |  
τοιούτος οἷος μηδὲν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν  
μηδ' ὢν ὁ Πυθαγόρας ἐκείνος ἥσθιεν,  
ὁ τρισμακαρίτης, εἰσφέρειν ἔξω θύμου.

Ἔτι τοῦ Οὐλπιανοῦ τοιαῦτά τινα παίζοντος ὁ Κύ-  
νουλκος ἀνέκραγεν· ἄρτου δεῖ καὶ οὐ τοῦ Μεσσαπίων  
βασιλέως λέγω τοῦ ἐν Ἰαπυγίᾳ, περὶ οὗ καὶ σύγ-  
γραμμά ἐστι Πολέμωνι. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Θου-  
κυδίδης ἐν ἐβδόμῃ καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς ἐν  
109 τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ δράματι Σικελία διὰ τούτων· ||

(Α.) ἐκείθεν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀνέμῳ νότῳ  
διεβάλομεν τὸ πέλαγος εἰς Μεσσαπίους·  
Ἄρτος δ' ἀναλαβὼν ἐξένισεν ἡμᾶς καλῶς.  
(Β.) ξένος γε χαρίεις † ἦν ἐκεῖ μέγας καὶ  
λαμπρὸς ἦν †.

οὐ τούτου οὖν τοῦ Ἄρτου ὁ νῦν καιρὸς ἦν, ἀλλὰ τῶν  
εὐρημένων ὑπὸ τῆς Σιτοῦς καλουμένης Δήμητρος καὶ

### BOOK III

to Myrtilus, however, but while he was with someone else—when I asked him how he got mixed up with Myrtilus, he recited me the following verses from Antiphanes' *Neottis*<sup>14</sup> (fr. 166):

When I was a child, I was brought here  
to Athens, along with my sister, by a trader;  
I'm Syrian by birth. This loan-shark here  
came along while we were being auctioned off, and  
bought us.

He's as bad as they come,  
the sort of person who brings nothing into his house,  
not even what the famous Pythagoras,  
bless his soul, used to eat, except for thyme.

While Ulpian was still making jokes like these, Cynulcus shouted: We need bread (*artos*)—and I'm not referring to the king of the Messenians in Iapygia, who is the subject of a treatise by Polemon (fr. 89 Preller)! Thucydides also mentions him in Book VII (33.4), as does the comic poet Demetrius in his play entitled *Sicily* (Demetr. Com. I fr. 1), as follows:

(A.) From there we took advantage of a south wind  
and crossed the sea to Italy, to the Messapians.

Artos took us in and entertained us very well.

(B.) A lovely host † was there large and shining  
was † !

This was not the moment for this Artos, then, but for the loaves invented by Demeter, called Mistress Grain

<sup>14</sup> Probably a courtesan's name.

- Ἰμαλίδος<sup>1</sup>. οὕτως γὰρ ἡ θεὸς παρὰ Συρακοσίοις τι-  
μᾶται, ὥς <ὁ> αὐτὸς Πολέμων ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ  
Μορύχου. ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Πρὸς Τίμαιον ἐν  
b Σκώλῳ φησὶ τῷ Βοιωτιακῷ Μεγαλάρτου | καὶ Μεγα-  
λομάζου ἀγάλματα ἰδρῦσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤδη ἄρτοι εἰσε-  
κομίζοντο καὶ πλῆθος ἐπ' αὐτοῖς παντοδαπῶν βρωμά-  
των, ἀποβλέψας εἰς αὐτὰ ἔφη·

τοῖς ἄρτοις ὅσας  
ἰστᾶσι παγίδας οἱ ταλαίπωροι βροτοί,

φησὶν Ἀλεξίς ἐν τῇ Εἰς τὸ Φρέαρ. ἡμεῖς οὖν εἵπωμέν  
τι καὶ περὶ ἄρτων.

- Προφθάσας δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ποντιανὸς ἔφη· Τρύφων ὁ  
Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐν τοῖς Φυτικοῖς ἐπιγραφομένοις ἄρτων  
ἐκτίθεται γένη, εἴ τι καὶ γὰρ μέμνημαι, ζυμίτην, ἄζυμον,  
c σεμιδαλίτην, | χονδρίτην, συγκομιστόν—τοῦτον δ'  
εἶναί φησι καὶ διαχωρητικώτερον τοῦ καθαροῦ—, τὸν  
ἐξ ὀλυρῶν, τὸν ἐκ τιφῶν, τὸν ἐκ μελινῶν. γίνεται μὲν,  
φησὶν, ὁ χονδρίτης ἐκ τῶν ζειῶν· ἐκ γὰρ κριθῆς  
χόνδρον μὴ γίνεσθαι. παρὰ δὲ τὰς ὀπτήσεις ὀνομάζε-  
σθαι ἱπνίτην, οὗ μνημονεύειν Τιμοκλέα ἐν Ψευδο-  
λησταῖς οὕτως·

καταμαθὼν δὲ κειμένην σκάφην  
θερμῶν ἱπνιτῶν ἥσθιον.

<sup>1</sup> Ἰμαλίδος Schweighäuser: Σιμαλίδος A: Σιμαλία CE

### BOOK III

and Abundance; for the Syracusans honor the goddess with these titles, as the same Polemon records in his *On Morychus* (fr. 74 Preller). And in Book I of his *Response to Timaeus* (fr. 39 Preller) he reports that in Boeotian Scolus statues have been erected of Megalartos ("Large Loaf of Bread") and Megalomazos ("Large Barley-Cake").<sup>15</sup> Since loaves of bread were now being brought in, and a large quantity of food of various sorts along with them, he fixed his eyes on them and said:

How many traps  
wretched mortals set to catch loaves of bread!,

as Alexis puts it in his *Into the Well* (fr. 86). So let us have some discussion about bread.

Pontianus began to speak before the other could get any further, and said: Tryphon of Alexandria in his work entitled *On Plants* (fr. 117 Velsen) lists the types of bread, if I remember correctly, as yeast bread, unleavened bread, durum wheat bread, groat bread, bread made of unsieved flour—he reports that this is more laxative than bread made of sieved flour—bread made of emmer, of einkorn, and of millet. He claims that groat bread is made of rice-wheat, because groats are not produced from barley.<sup>16</sup> "Oven bread" gets its name from the fact that it is baked. Timocles mentions it in his *Fake Bandits* (fr. 35), as follows:

When I learned that a pan of warm  
oven bread was lying there, I ate it.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. 10.416b-c.      <sup>16</sup> A strange claim; perhaps something has gone wrong with the text.

Ἐσχαρίτης. τούτου μνημονεύει Ἀντίδοτος ἐν Πρωτο-  
χόρῳ·

- d λαβόντα θερμοὺς ἐσχαρίτας, πῶς γὰρ οὐ; |  
τούτους ἀνελίττοντα βάπτειν εἰς γλυκύν.

καὶ Κρώβυλος ἐν Ἀπαγχομένῳ·

καὶ σκάφην λαβών τινα  
τῶν ἐσχαριτῶν τῶν καθαρῶν.

- Λυγκεὺς δ' ὁ Σάμιος ἐν τῇ Πρὸς Διαγόραν Ἐπιστολῇ  
συγκρίνων τὰ Ἀθήνησι γινόμενα τῶν ἐδωδίων πρὸς  
τὰ ἐν Ῥόδῳ φησὶν· ἔτι δὲ σεμνυνομένων παρ' ἐκείνοις  
τῶν ἀγοραίων ἄρτων, ἀρχομένου μὲν τοῦ δείπνου καὶ  
μεσοῦντος οὐθὲν λειπομένους ἐπιφέρουσιν· ἀπειρηκό-  
e των δὲ καὶ πεπληρωμένων | ἡδίστην ἐπεισάγουσι  
διατριβὴν τὸν διάχριστον ἐσχαρίτην καλούμενον, ὃς  
οὕτω κέκραται τοῖς μειλίγμασι καὶ τῇ μαλακότητι καὶ  
τοιαύτην ἐνθρυπτόμενος ἔχει πρὸς τὸν γλυκύν συναυ-  
λίαν ὥστε προσβιαζόμενος θαυμαστόν τι συντελεῖ·  
καθάπερ ἀνανήφειν πολλάκις γίνεται τὸν μεθύοντα,  
τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀναπεινῆν γίνεται  
τὸν ἐσθίουντα.

Ἀταβυρίτην. Σώπατρος ἐν Κνιδίᾳ·

ἄταβυρίτης δ' ἄρτος ἦν πλησίγναθος.

- f Ἀχαΐνας. τούτου τοῦ ἄρτου μνημονεύει Σῆμος | ἐν  
ὀκτῇ Δηλιάδος λέγων ταῖς Θεσμοφόροις γίνεσθαι.

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Brazier bread. Antidotus mentions this in *The Chorus-Leader* (fr. 3):

He took warm loaves of brazier bread—why wouldn't he?—

unrolled them, and dipped them in grape-must.

Also Crobylus in *The Man Who Tried To Hang Himself* (fr. 2):

and after taking a tray  
of brazier bread made of sifted flour.

Lynceus of Samos in his *Letter to Diagoras* (fr. 14 Dalby), in the course of comparing the food produced in Athens to that in Rhodes, says: Moreover, since the bread sold in the market in their country is magnificent, they serve it in enormous quantities at the beginning of the meal and the middle. But once the guests are full and refuse it, they bring in next, as a delicious bit of fun, what is called "anointed brazier bread." This is made so soft and sweet, and goes so well with the grape-must it is dipped into, that something amazing happens, quite against one's will; for just as it frequently happens that a drunk becomes sober again, so in a similar way anyone who eats this enjoys it so much that he grows hungry again.

*Ataburitēs*. Sopater in *The Girl from Cnidus* (fr. 9):

There was jaw-filling *ataburitēs* bread.

*Achaïnai*. Semus mentions this bread in Book VIII of his *History of Delos* (FGrH 396 F 14) and says that it is pro-

<sup>17</sup> Demeter (one of whose epithets was Achaia) and her daughter, Persephone/Pherrephatta.

εἰσὶ δὲ ἄρτοι μεγάλοι, καὶ ἑορτὴ καλεῖται Μεγαλάρτια ἐπιλεγόντων τῶν φερόντων·

ἁχαῖνην στέατος ἔμπλεων τράγον.

Κριβανίτην. τούτου μνημονεύει Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Γήρα· ποιεῖ δὲ λέγουσαν ἀρτόπωλιν διηρπασμένων αὐτῆς τῶν ἄρτων ὑπὸ τῶν τὸ γῆρας ἀποβαλλόντων·

(A.) τουτὶ τί ἦν τὸ πρᾶγμα; (B.) θερμούς, ὦ τέκνον.

(A.) ἀλλ' ἦ παραφρονεῖς; (B.) κριβανίτας, ὦ τέκνον.

(A.) τί κριβανίτας; (B.) πάνυ δὲ λευκούς, ὦ τέκνον. ||

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Ἐγκρυφίαν. τούτου μνημονεύει Νικόστρατος ἐν Ἱεροφάντῃ καὶ ὁ ὀψοδαίδαλος Ἀρχέστρατος, οὗ κατὰ καιρὸν τὸ μαρτύριον παραθήσομαι.

Δίπυρον. Εὐβουλος ἐν Γανυμήδει.

(A.) διπύρους τε θερμούς. (B.) οἱ δίπυροι δ' εἰσὶν τίνες;

(A.) ἄρτοι τρυφῶντες·

Ἀλκαῖος Γανυμήδει.

<sup>18</sup> Aristotle HA 506<sup>a</sup>24, 611<sup>b</sup>18 uses this adjective to describe a deer of some sort, and Semos (or Athenaeus) may have misunderstood its significance.

<sup>19</sup> Literally "hidden (bread)," i.e. bread baked within the coals.

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duced for the Thesmophoroi<sup>17</sup>. The loaves are large, and the festival is called the Megalartia (“Large Loaf Festival”); and those who carry them recite:

an *achaina*<sup>18</sup> he-goat full of lard.

Baking-shell bread. Aristophanes mentions this in *Old Age* (fr. 129). He represents a female bread-vendor, whose loaves have been stolen by the men who have shed their old age, as saying:

(A.) What’s going on? (B.) Warm ones, my child!

(A.) What—are you crazy? (B.) Made in a baking shell, my child!

(A.) What do you mean, “in a baking shell”? (B.) Very white, my child!

*Enkruphia*.<sup>19</sup> Nicostratus mentions this in his *Initiatory Priest* (fr. 12), as does the glutton Archestratus (fr. 5.15 Olson–Sens = *SH* 135.15), whose evidence I will cite at the appropriate moment.<sup>20</sup>

*Dipuros*.<sup>21</sup> Eubulus in *Ganymede* (fr. \*17).

(A.) And warm *dipuroi*. (B.) What are *dipuroi*?

(A.) **Sumptuous bread**.

Thus Alcaeus in *Ganymede* (Alc. Com. fr. 2).<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> See 3.111f.

<sup>21</sup> Literally “twice fired,” i.e. “twice baked”; cf. English “biscuit” and German “Zwieback.”

<sup>22</sup> Pollux 7.23 assigns the quotation that precedes this notice to Alcaeus’ *Ganymede* rather than to Eubulus’ play of the same name, and the passage from Eubulus has apparently fallen out of the text.



Λάγανον. τοῦτο ἐλαφρόν τ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἄτροφον, καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ ἔτι ἢ ἀπανθρακὶς καλουμένη. μνημονεύει δὲ τοῦ μὲν Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ἐκκλησιαζούσαις φάσκων.<sup>2</sup>

λάγανα πέττεται,

- b τῆς δ' ἀπανθρακίδος | Διοκλῆς ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν πρώτῳ Ὑγιεινῶν οὕτωςι λέγων· ἡ δ' ἀπανθρακὶς ἐστὶ τῶν λαγάνων ἀπαλωτέρα. ἔοικε δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἐπ' ἀνθράκων γίνεσθαι, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ παρ' Ἀττικοῖς ἐγκρυφίας· ὃν καὶ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς τῷ Κρόνῳ ἀφιεροῦντες προτιθέασιν ἐσθίειν τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κρόνου ἱερῷ. Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν Ἡβης Γάμῳ καὶ Μούσαις—τοῦτο δὲ τὸ δράμα διασκευὴ ἐστὶ τοῦ προκειμένου—ἄρτων ἐκτίθεται γένη κριβανίτην, ὅμωρον, σταιτίτην, ἐγκρίδα, ἀλειφατίτην, ἡμιάρτιον. ὧν καὶ Σώφρων ἐν Γυναι-
- c κείοις | Μίμοις μνημονεύει λέγων οὕτως· δεῖπνον ταῖς θεαῖς<sup>3</sup> κριβανίτας καὶ ὁμώρους καὶ ἡμιάρτιον Ἐκάτα. οἶδα δ', ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὅτι Ἀτικοὶ μὲν διὰ τοῦ ῥ στοιχείου λέγουσι καὶ κρίβανον καὶ κριβανίτην, Ἡρόδοτος δ' ἐν δευτέρᾳ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν ἔφη· κλιβάνῳ διαφανεῖ. καὶ ὁ Σώφρων δὲ ἔφη· τίς σταιτίτας ἢ κλιβανίτας ἢ ἡμιάρτια πέσσει; ὁ δ' αὐτὸς μνημονεύει καὶ πλακίτα τινὸς ἄρτου ἐν Γυναικείοις· εἰς νύκτα μ' † αἰτιάσθαι σὺν ἄρτῳ πλακίτα. καὶ τυρῶντος δ' ἄρτου μνη-

<sup>2</sup> The traditional text of the play has λαγῶ ἀναπηγνύασι, πόπανα πέττεται. <sup>3</sup> θειαῖς Blomfield

### BOOK III

Wafer bread. This is light and thin, something even more true of what is called an *apanthrakis*<sup>23</sup>. Aristophanes mentions it in *Assemblywomen* (823), where he says:

Wafer bread is being baked.

Diocles of Carytus mentions the *apanthrakis* in Book I of his *On Matters of Health* (fr. 191 van der Eijk), where he says the following: The *apanthrakis* is more delicate than wafer bread. This type too is probably produced on top of coals, like what Attic authors refer to as an *enkruphia*. The inhabitants of Alexandria offer it to Cronus and put it out in his temple for anyone who wants some to eat. Epicharmus in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 46, unmetrical) and in *Muses*—the latter play is a revised version of the former (*The Wedding of Hebe* test. ii)—lists as types of bread: baking-shell bread, *homōron*,<sup>24</sup> spelt bread, honey-and-oil-cake,<sup>25</sup> oil bread, and half-loaf. Sophron too mentions these in his *Women's Mimes* (fr. 26) and says the following: a dinner for the aunts, baking-shell bread and *homōroi*, and a half-loaf for Hecate. I am aware, my friends, that Attic authors say *kribanos* ("baking shell") and *kribanitēs* ("baking-shell bread") with a *rho*, whereas Herodotus in Book II (92.5) of his *Histories* said: a red-hot *klibanos*. Sophron (fr. 27) also said: Who is baking spelt bread or *klibanitai* or half-loaves? The same author mentions a type of bread called a *plakita* in his *Women's Mimes* (fr. 28): At night she [corrupt] me with *plakita*-bread. Sophron also

<sup>23</sup> Literally "off-the-charcoal (bread)." For wafer bread, see also 8.363a.

<sup>24</sup> Perhaps to be identified with what Hsch. o 817 calls *homoura* ("boiled durum wheat, containing honey and sesame seed"); cf. 14.646d with n.

d μονεύει ὁ Σώφρων ἐν | τῇ ἐπιγραφομένῃ Πενθερᾷ  
οὕτως· συμβουλεύω τ' ἐμφαγεῖν ἄρτον γάρ τις τυρῶν-  
τα τοῖς παιδίοις ἴαλε. Νίκανδρος δ' ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν  
ταῖς Γλώσσαις τὸν ἄζυμον ἄρτον καλεῖ δάρατον.  
Πλάτων δ' ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς ἐν Νυκτὶ Μακρᾷ τοὺς  
μεγάλους ἄρτους καὶ ῥυπαροὺς Κιλικίους ὀνομάζει  
διὰ τούτων·

καὶ ἥκεν ἄρτους πριάμενος  
μὴ τῶν καθαρύλλων, ἀλλὰ μεγάλους Κιλικίους.

e ἐν δὲ τῷ Μενελάῳ ἐπιγραφομένῳ ἀγελαίους | τινὰς  
ἄρτους καλεῖ. αὐτοπύρου δ' ἄρτου μέμνηται Ἀλεξίς ἐν  
Κυπρίῳ·

τὸν δ' αὐτόπυρον ἄρτον ἀρτίως φαγών.

Φρύνιχος δ' ἐν Ποαστρίαις αὐτοπυρίτας αὐτοὺς κα-  
λῶν φησιν·

αὐτοπυρίταισί τ' ἄρτοις καὶ λιπῶσι στεμφύλοις.

ὀρίνδου δ' ἄρτου μέμνηται Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Τριπτολέμῳ  
ἦτοι τοῦ ἐξ ὀρύζης γινομένου ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Αἰθιοπία

f γιγνομένου σπέρματος, ὃ ἐστὶν ὅμοιον σησάμῳ. |  
κολλάβου δ' ἄρτου Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ταγηνισταῖς·

< . . . > λαμβάνετε κόλλαβον ἕκαστος.

καὶ πάλιν·

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<sup>25</sup> Cf. 14.645e.

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mentions cheese-bread in the mime entitled *The Mother-in-Law* (fr. 13), as follows: And I suggest you eat a bit; for someone sent cheese-bread for the children. Nicander of Colophon in his *Glossary* (fr. 184 Schneider) refers to unleavened bread as *daratos*. The comic poet Plato in *The Long Night* (fr. 92) calls large loaves made of dirty wheat Cilicians, in the following verses:

and then he's come and bought not some  
clean little loaves, but big Cilicians.

In his play entitled *Menelaus* (fr. 78) he refers to certain loaves as *agelaioi*.<sup>26</sup> Alexis mentions whole-wheat (*autopuros*) bread in *The Man from Cyprus* (fr. 126):

after eating the whole-wheat bread just now.

Phrynichus in *Female Grass-Cutters* (fr. 40) calls them *autopuritai* when he says:

whole-wheat (*autopuritaisi*) loaves and oily olive  
pomace.

Sophocles in *Triptolemus* (fr. 609) mentions *orindos* bread, which is made either from rice or from the grain that grows in Ethiopia and resembles sesame. Aristophanes mentions wheat rolls in *Frying-Pan Men* (fr. 522):

Each of you take a wheat roll!

And again (fr. 520.6–8):<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Literally "herd (bread), gregarious (bread)"; probably small loaves baked together in a single pan.

<sup>27</sup> Cited at greater length at 3.96c; cf. 9.374f.

# ATHENAEUS

ἡ δέλφακος ὀπωρινῆς  
ἡτριαίαν φέρετε δεῦρο μετὰ κολλάβων  
χλιαρῶν.

γίνονται δ' οἱ ἄρτοι οὗτοι ἐκ νέου πυροῦ, ὥς Φιλύλλιος  
ἐν Αὔγῃ παρίστησιν·

αὐτὸς φέρων πάρειμι πυρῶν ἐκγόνους τριμήνων  
γαλακτόχρωτας κολλάβους θερμούς.

111 μακωνίδων δ' ἄρτων μνημονεύει Ἀλκμὰν ἐν τῷ πέμ-  
πτῳ οὕτως· ||

κλῖναι μὲν ἐπτὰ καὶ τόσαι τράπεσδαι  
μακωνιᾶν ἄρτων ἐπιστεφοίσαι  
λίνῳ τε σασάμῳ τε κῆν πελίχναις  
† πεδεστε † χρυσοκόλλα.

ἐστὶ <δὲ> βρωμάτιον διὰ μέλιτος καὶ λίνου.

Τοῦ δὲ κολλύρας καλουμένου ἄρτου Ἀριστοφάνης  
ἐν Εἰρήνῃ·

κολλύραν μεγάλην καὶ κόνδυλον ὄψον ἐπ' αὐτῇ.

καὶ ἐν Ὀλκάσι·

b καὶ κολλύραν † τοῖσι περῶσι † διὰ τοῦν  
Μαραθῶνι τρόπαιον. |

ὁ δὲ ὀβελίας ἄρτος κέκληται ἥτοι ὅτι ὀβολοῦ πι-  
πράσκεται, ὥς ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ἥ ὅτι ἐν ὀβελίσκοις  
ὠπτᾶτο. Ἀριστοφάνης Γεωργοῖς·

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Or bring us here the stomach  
of a late-summer pig, along with some hot  
wheat rolls!

This type of bread is produced from recently harvested  
wheat, as Philyllius demonstrates in *Augē* (fr. 4):

I'm here in person, bearing the offspring of three-  
month wheat,  
warm wheat rolls the color of milk.

Alcman mentions poppy-seed bread in Book V (*PMG* 19),  
as follows:

Seven couches, and an equal number of tables  
covered with poppy-seed bread,  
flax seed, and sesame seed, and in the cups  
[corrupt] *chrusokolla*.

This is a type of food made with honey and flax seed.

Aristophanes refers to the loaf of bread called a *kollura*  
in *Peace* (123):

a big *kollura* and a knuckle-sandwich to go with it.

Also in *Merchantships* (fr. 429):

and a *kollura* [corrupt] on account of the victory  
monument at Marathon.

*Obelias*-bread got its name either from the fact that it is  
sold for an obol, as in Alexandria, or because it is baked on  
small spits (*obeliskoi*). Aristophanes in *Farmers* (fr. 105):

εἶτ' ἄρτον ὀπτῶν τυγχάνει τις ὀβελίαν.

Φερεκράτης Ἐπιλήσμονι·

† ὦλεν † ὀβελίαν σποδεῖν, ἄρτου δὲ μὴ  
προτιμᾶν.

ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ καὶ ὀβελιαφόροι οἱ ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς  
παραφέροντες αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων. Σωκράτης ἐν  
ἔκτῳ Ἐπικλήσεων τὸν ὀβελίαν φησὶν ἄρτον Διόνυσον  
εὐρεῖν ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις.

Ἐτνίτας ἄρτος ὁ προσαγορευόμενος λεκιθίτας, ὥς  
c φησιν Ἡ. Εὐκράτης. πανὸς ἄρτος· Μεσσάπιοι. καὶ τὴν  
πλησμονὴν πανίαν καὶ πάντα τὰ πλήσμια· Βλαῖσος  
ἐν Μεσοτρίβᾳ καὶ Δεινόλοχος ἐν Τηλέφῳ Ῥίνθων τε  
ἐν Ἀμφιτρύωνι. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ πάντα τὸν ἄρτον κα-  
λοῦσι.

Ναστὸς ἄρτος ζυμίτης καλεῖται μέγας, ὥς φησι  
Πολέμαρχος καὶ Ἀρτεμίδωρος, Ἡρακλέων δὲ πλα-  
κοῦντος εἶδος. Νικόστρατος δ' ἐν Κλίνῃ·

ναστὸς τὸ μέγεθος τηλικούτος, δέσποτα,  
d λευκός· τὸ γὰρ πάχος ὑπερέκυπτε τοῦ κανοῦ. |  
ὁσμὴ δέ, τοῦπίβλημ' ἐπεὶ περιηρέθη,  
ἄνω ῥάδιζε καὶ μέλιτι μεμιγμένη  
ἀτμὶς τις εἰς τὰς ῥῖνας· ἔτι γὰρ θερμὸς ἦν.

κνηστὸς ἄρτος ποιὸς παρὰ Ἰωσι, Ἀρτεμίδωρος ὁ

<sup>28</sup> Sc. in the east; cf. 1.33d n.

### BOOK III

Then someone happens to be baking *obelias*-bread.

Pherecrates in *The Absent-Minded Man* (fr. 61):

[corrupt] to devour an *obelias*, but to pay no attention to bread.

The men who carried these on their shoulders in their processions were referred to as *obeliaphoroi*. Socrates says in Book VI of his *Appellations* (fr. 15, *FHG* iv.499) that Dionysus discovered bread during his campaigns.<sup>28</sup>

*Etnitas*<sup>29</sup>-bread is what is generally called legume bread, according to Eucrates (*FHG* iv.407). *Panos* is "bread"; thus the Messapians. And *panía* is "satiety," while the foods that fill one up are *pánia*; thus Blaesus in *Mesotribas* (fr. 1), Deinolochus in *Telephus* (fr. 6), and Rhinthon in *Amphitryon* (fr. 1). The Romans also refer to bread as *pana*.<sup>30</sup>

*Nastos* is the term for a large loaf of leavened bread, according to Polemarchus and Artemidorus<sup>31</sup>; but Heraclion (p. 6 Berndt) says that it is a type of flatcake. Nicostratus in *The Couch* (fr. 13):

A *nastos* as large as this, master,  
and white; for it was so big around that it peeked up  
out of the sacrificial basket.

The smell of it, when the cover was removed,  
rose straight to my nostrils, along with a sort of  
steam mixed with honey; because it was still warm.

*Knēstos* is a type of bread known to the Ionians, according

<sup>29</sup> Cognate with *ethnos*, "legume soup."

<sup>30</sup> Latin *panis*.



Ἐφέσιός φησιν ἐν Ἰωνικοῖς Ὑπομνήμασι.

Θρόνος ἄρτου ὄνομα. Νεάνθης ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἐν δευτέρᾳ Ἑλληνικῶν γράφων οὕτως· ὁ δὲ Κόδρος τόμον ἄρτου τὸν καλούμενον θρόνον λαμβάνει καὶ κρέας καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ νέμονται.

Βάκχυλος δ' ἐστὶν ἄρτος σποδίτης παρ' Ἠλείοις  
e καλούμενος, ὡς | Νίκανδρος ἐν δευτέρῳ Γλωσσῶν  
ἱστορεῖ. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Δίφιλος ἐν Διαμαρ-  
τανούσῃ οὕτως·

ἄρτους σποδίτας κρησερίτας περιφέρειν.

ἄρτου δ' εἶδός ἐστι καὶ ὁ ἀποπυρίας καλούμενος, ἐπ' ἀνθράκων δ' ὀπτᾶται. καλεῖται δ' οὗτος ὑπὸ τινων ζυμίτης. Κρατῖνος Μαλθακοῖς· † πρῶτον ἀποπυρίαν ἔχω ζυμηταμιαδου πλεους κνεφαλλον †.

Ἀρχέστρατος δ' ἐν τῇ Γαστρονομίᾳ περὶ ἀλφίτων  
f καὶ ἄρτων οὕτως ἐκτίθεται |

πρῶτα μὲν οὖν δώρων μεμνήσομαι ἡνκόμοιο  
Δήμητρος, φίλε Μόσχε· σὺ δ' ἐν φρεσὶ βάλλεο  
σῆσιν.

ἔστι γὰρ οὖν τὰ κράτιστα λαβεῖν βέλτιστά τε  
πάντων,

εὐκάρπου κριθῆς καθαρῶς ἡσσημένα πάντα,  
ἐν Λέσβῳ, κλεινῆς Ἐρέσου περικύμονι μαστῶ,  
112 λευκότερ' αἰθερίης χιόνος· θεοὶ εἴπερ ἔδουσιν ||

<sup>31</sup> See 1.5b n.

<sup>32</sup> Literally "seat, chair."

<sup>33</sup> A legendary king of Athens.

### BOOK III

to Artemidorus of Ephesus in his *Notes on Ionia* (FGrH 438 F 1).

*Thronos*<sup>32</sup> is the name of a type of bread; thus Neanthes of Cyzicus, writing as follows in Book II of the *History of Greece* (FGrH 84 F 1): Codrus<sup>33</sup> takes the slice of bread referred to as the *thronos* and some meat, and they treat it as the oldest man's portion.

*Bakchulos* is the term the Eleans use for bread baked in the ashes, according to Nicander in Book II of the *Glossary* (fr. 121 Schneider). Diphilus too mentions it in *The Woman Who Was Quite Mistaken* (fr. 25), as follows:

to carry around loaves of ash bread made of sifted  
flour.

The so-called *apopurias*<sup>34</sup> is also a type of bread, which is baked on top of the coals. Some authorities refer to this as *zumitēs* ("yeast bread"). Cratinus in *Soft Men* (fr. 106, corrupt and unmetrical): first of all I have an *apopuria* [obscure].

Archestratus in his *Gastronomy* (fr. 5 Olson–Sens = SH 135) expounds on barley-meal and baked bread as follows:

First of all, then, my dear Moschus, I will mention  
the gifts of fair-haired  
Demeter; you must internalize all of this.  
The best one can get and the finest of all,  
all sifted clean from highly productive barley,  
are in Lesbos, on the wave-girt breast where famous  
Eresus is located,  
whiter than heavenly snow. If the gods eat

<sup>34</sup> Literally "from the fire (bread)."

## ATHENAEUS

ἄλφιτ', ἐκεῖθεν ἰὼν Ἑρμῆς αὐτοῖς ἀγοράζει.  
 ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Θήβαις ταῖς ἑπταπύλοις ἐπιεικῇ  
 καὶ Θάσῳ ἔν τ' ἄλλαις πόλεσιν τισιν, ἀλλὰ  
 γίγαρτα  
 φαίνονται πρὸς ἐκεῖνα· σαφεῖ τάδ' ἐπίστασο  
 δόξῃ.

b στρογγυλοδίνητος δὲ τετριμμένος εὖ κατὰ χεῖρα  
 κόλλιξ Θεσσαλικός σοι ὑπαρχέτω, ὃν καλέουσι |  
 κείνοι κριμνίτην, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι χόνδρινον ἄρτον.  
 εἶτα τὸν ἐν Τεγέαις σεμιδάλεος υἱὸν ἐπαινῶ  
 ἐγκρυφίην. τὸν δ' εἰς ἀγορὴν ποιεύμενον ἄρτον  
 αἱ κλειναὶ παρέχουσι βροτοῖς κάλλιστον Ἀθῆναι.  
 ἐν δὲ φερεσταφύλοις Ἐρυθραῖς ἐκ κλιβάνου  
 ἐλθὼν  
 λευκὸς ἀβραῖς θάλλων ὥραις τέρψει παρὰ  
 δεῖπνον.

c ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ὁ τένθης Ἀρχέστρατος καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄρτων  
 | ποιητὴν ἔχειν συμβουλεύει Φοῖνικα ἢ Λυδὸν· ἡγνόει  
 γὰρ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἀρτοποιοὺς ἀρίστους  
 ὄντας. λέγει δ' οὕτως·

ἔστω δ' ἢ σοι ἀνὴρ Φοῖνιξ ἢ Λυδὸς ἐν οἴκῳ,  
 ὅστις ἐπιστήμων ἔσται σίτιοιο κατ' ἡμᾶρ  
 παντοίας ἰδέας τεύχειν, ὥς ἂν σὺ κελεύῃς.

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<sup>35</sup> Cf. 3.113b.

### BOOK III

barley groats, it is from there that Hermes goes and  
buys them for them.

They are also fairly good in seven-gated Thebes  
and in Thasos and some other cities, although these  
resemble

grape-stones compared with the Lesbian sort. You  
should regard this as absolutely certain.

Get yourself a Thessalian loaf that has been kneaded  
until it is round

and thoroughly worked by hand; the Thessalians  
call this coarse-meal bread, but others call it groat  
bread.

Next after that I praise the Tegean son of Wheat  
Flour,

Ash Cake. But as for bread made for sale in the  
marketplace,

famous Athens supplies mortals with the best.

And in Erythrae with its grape-clusters a white loaf  
that has come

from the oven fully risen, just at the moment it is  
ready to be eaten, will give pleasure at dinner.

After making these remarks, the glutton Archestratus (fr. 6 Olson–Sens = *SH* 136) also suggests that one have a Phoenician or Lydian as one's breadmaker, because he was unaware that Cappadocian breadmakers are the best.<sup>35</sup> He puts it thus:

Be sure to have in your house either a Phoenician or  
a Lydian,

who will know about cereal products, and can make  
every sort of them

on a daily basis in accord with your orders.

Τῶν δ' Ἀττικῶν ἄρτων ὡς διαφόρων μνημονεύει  
καὶ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ὀμφάλῃ οὕτως·

πῶς γὰρ ἂν τις εὐγενὴς γεγὼς  
δύναιτ' ἂν ἐξελθεῖν ποτ' ἐκ τῆσδε στέγης;  
ὁρῶν μὲν ἄρτους λευκοσώματους ἱπνὸν  
d καταμπέχοντας ἐν πυκναῖς διεξόδοις, |  
ὁρῶν δὲ μορφὴν κριβάνοις ἡλλαγμένους,  
μίμημα χειρὸς Ἀττικῆς, οὓς δημόταις  
Θεαρίων ἔδειξεν.

οὗτός ἐστι Θεαρίων ὁ ἄρτοποιός οὗ μνημονεύει Πλά-  
των ἐν Γοργίᾳ συγκαταλέγων αὐτῷ καὶ Μίθαικον  
οὕτως γράφων· οἵτινες ἀγαθοὶ γεγόνασιν ἢ εἰσὶ σω-  
μάτων θεραπευταὶ ἔλεγές μοι πάννυ σπουδάζων, Θεα-  
e ρίων ὁ ἄρτοκόπος καὶ Μίθαικος | ὁ τὴν ὀψοποιίαν  
συγγεγραφῶς τὴν Σικελικὴν καὶ Σάραμβος ὁ κάπη-  
λος, ὅτι οὗτοι θαυμάσιοι γεγόνασιν σωμάτων θεραπευ-  
ταί, ὁ μὲν ἄρτους θαυμαστοὺς παρασκευάζων, ὁ δὲ  
ὄψον, ὁ δὲ οἶνον. καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Γηρυτάδῃ καὶ  
Αἰολοσίκωνι διὰ τούτων·

ἦκω Θεαρίωνος ἄρτοπώλιον  
λιπών, ἵν' ἐστὶ κριβάνων ἐδώλια.

Κυπρίων δὲ ἄρτων μνημονεύει Εὐβουλος ὡς διαφόρων  
f ἐν Ὀρθάνῃ διὰ τούτων· |

<sup>36</sup> PAA 501987.

### BOOK III

Antiphanes refers to Attic bread as particularly good in *Omphalē* (fr. 174), as follows:

For how could any decent  
person ever leave this house,  
when he sees these white-bodied loaves filling  
the kitchen and moving constantly in and out of it,  
and when he sees their form changed by the baking-  
shells,  
a creation of an Attic hand, put on display  
for his demesmen by Thearion?

This Thearion<sup>36</sup> is the breadmaker Plato mentions in his *Gorgias* (518b), where he includes him in a list along with Mithaecus and writes as follows: As for those who have been or are now good caretakers of our bodies, you told me in all seriousness: “Thearion the baker, Mithaecus the author of the Sicilian cookbook,<sup>37</sup> and Sarambus the bartender, because they have been marvellous caretakers of our bodies, the first by providing amazing bread, the second fine food, and the third wine.” Also Aristophanes in *Gerytades* (fr. 177) and in *Aeolosicon* (fr. 1), as follows:

I’ve come from Thearion’s bakery,  
where the abodes of the baking-shells are.

Eubulus refers to Cyprian bread as particularly good in *Orthannēs* (fr. 77), as follows:

<sup>37</sup> A new Sicilian and South Italian style of cooking, which relied on the heavy use of spices and cheese, became popular in Athens around the end of the 5th century.

δεινὸν μὲν ἰδόντα παριππεύσαι  
Κυπρίους ἄρτους· μαγνήτης γὰρ  
λίθος ὥς ἔλκει τοὺς πεινῶντας.

τῶν δὲ κολλικίων ἄρτων—οἱ αὐτοὶ δ' εἰσὶ τοῖς κολλάβοις—Ἐφιππος ἐν Ἀρτέμιδι μνημονεύει οὕτως·

παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου δ' ἐκ Θετταλίας  
κολλικοφάγου κρίβανος ἄρτων.

Ἀριστοφάνης δ' ἐν Ἀχαρνεύσιν·

113 ὦ χαῖρε, κολλικοφάγε Βοιωτίδιον. ||

Τούτων οὕτω λεχθέντων ἔφη τις τῶν παρόντων  
γραμματικῶν, Ἀρριανὸς ὄνομα· ταῦτα σιτία Κρονικά  
ἐστίν, ὦ ἐταῖροι. ἡμεῖς γὰρ

οὔτ' ἀλφίτοισι χαίρομεν·  
πλήρης γὰρ ἄρτων ἡ πόλις·

οὔτε τῷ τῶν ἄρτων τούτων καταλόγῳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλῳ  
Χρυσίππου τοῦ Τυανέως συγγράμματι ἐνέτυχον ἐπι-  
γραφομένῳ Ἀρτοποιικῷ καὶ πείραν ἔσχον τῶν αὐτόθι  
ὀνομασθέντων παρὰ πολλοῖς τῶν φίλων, ἔρχομαι καὶ  
αὐτὸς λέξων τι περὶ ἄρτων. ὁ ἀρτοπτικός ἄρτος κα-  
b λούμενος κλιβανικίου καὶ φουρνακίου | διαφέρει. ἐὰν  
δ' ἐκ σκληρᾶς ζύμης ἐργάζῃ αὐτόν, ἔσται καὶ λαμ-  
πρὸς καὶ εὖβρωτος πρὸς ξηροφαγίαν· εἰ δ' ἐξ ἀνειμέ-

<sup>38</sup> "Rolls"; see 3.110f.

### BOOK III

It's difficult to see Cyprian bread  
and ride on past; for it attracts  
hungry people like a magnet.

Ephippus mentions the type of bread known as *kollikia*—these are the same as *kollaboi*<sup>38</sup>—in *Artemis* (fr. 1), as follows:

from Alexander,<sup>39</sup> from *kollix*-eating  
Thessaly, a baking shell full of bread.

Aristophanes in *Acharnians* (872):

Greetings, little *kollix*-eating Boeotian!

After these remarks were complete, one of the grammarians present, whose name was Arrian, said: These breadstuffs are very out of date<sup>40</sup>, gentlemen; for we (adesp. com. fr. \*106)

neither take any pleasure in barley groats—  
for the city is full of bread—

nor in this catalogue of these types of bread. But because I encountered another treatise by Chrysippus of Tyana entitled *Breadmaking*, and thus developed some familiarity with the items mentioned here by a number of our friends, I myself as well am come to say something about bread. The so-called *artoptikios*-bread is better than the type produced in baking shells or ovens. If you make it with dry yeast, it will be light-colored and good to eat dry,<sup>41</sup> whereas

<sup>39</sup> Alexander II, king of Macedon 370/69–367 BCE, who intervened briefly—and unsuccessfully—in Thessaly in 369.

<sup>40</sup> Literally “as old as Cronus.”

<sup>41</sup> I.e. with no broth or sauce.



νης, ἔσται μὲν ἐλαφρός, οὐ λαμπρὸς δέ. κλιβανίκιος δὲ καὶ φουρνάκιος χαίρουσιν ἀπαλωτέρα τῇ ζύμῃ. παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἑλλησι καλεῖται τις ἄρτος ἀπαλὸς ἀρτυόμενος γάλακτι ὀλίγῳ καὶ ἐλαίῳ καὶ ἄλσιν ἀρκετοῖς. δεῖ δὲ τὴν ματερίαν ἀνειμένην ποιεῖν. οὗτος δὲ ὁ ἄρτος λέγεται Καππαδόκιος, ἐπειδὴ ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἀπαλὸς ἄρτος γίνεται. τὸν δὲ τοι-  
 c οὔτον | ἄρτον οἱ Σύροι λαχμὰν προσαγορεύουσι, καὶ ἔστιν οὗτος ἐν Συρίᾳ χρηστότατος γινόμενος διὰ τὸ θερμότατος τρώγεσθαι καὶ ἔστιν < . . . > ἄνθει παραπλήσιος. ὁ δὲ βωλητῖνος καλούμενος ἄρτος πλάττεται μὲν ὡς βωλήτης, καὶ ἀλείφεται ἡ μάκτρα ὑποπασσομένης μήκωνος, ἐφ' ἧ ἐπιτίθεται ἡ ματερία, καὶ ἐν τῷ ζυμοῦσθαι οὐ κολλᾶται τῇ καρδόπῳ. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐμβληθῇ εἰς τὸν φοῦρνον, ὑποπάσσεται τῷ κεράμῳ χόνδρος τις καὶ τότε ἐπιτίθεται ὁ ἄρτος καὶ ἔλκει  
 d χρῶμα κάλλιστον, ὅμοιον | τῷ φουμῳσῶ τυρῷ. ὁ δὲ στρεπτίκιος ἄρτος συναναλαμβάνεται γάλακτι ὀλίγῳ, καὶ προσβάλλεται πέπερι καὶ ἔλαιον ὀλίγον· εἰ δὲ μή, στέαρ. εἰς δὲ τὸ καλούμενον ἀρτολάγανον ἐμβάλλεται οἰνάριον ὀλίγον καὶ πέπερι γάλα τε καὶ ἔλαιον ὀλίγον ἢ στέαρ. εἰς δὲ τὰ καπύρια τὰ καλούμενα τράκτα μίξεις ὥσπερ καὶ εἰς ἄρτον.

Ταῦτ' ἐκθεμένου τὰριστάρχεια δόγματα τοῦ Ῥωμαίων μεγαλοσοφιστοῦ ὁ Κύνουλκος ἔφη· Δάματερ σοφίας· οὐκ ἐτὸς ἄρα ψαμμακοσίους ἔχει μαθητὰς ὁ

<sup>42</sup> A Latin loan-word, = *materia*.

### BOOK III

if you make it with dissolved yeast, it will rise more but will not be light-colored. Baking-shell bread and oven bread do well with softer yeast. The Greeks use the term "soft" for a type of bread prepared with a little milk, oil, and just enough salt; you need to make the dough<sup>42</sup> soft and spongy. This type of bread is called Cappadocian, since soft bread is for the most part produced in Cappadocia. The Syrians refer to this type of bread as *lachma*<sup>43</sup>; it is particularly good when produced in Syria, since it is eaten very warm and is . . . resembling a flower. The so-called *bolētinus* bread is moulded into the shape of a boletus mushroom. The kneading-trough is greased, poppy-seed is sprinkled on the bottom, and the dough is put into it and does not stick to the trough while it rises. When it is put into the oven, some roughly milled grain is sprinkled on the bottom of the pan, and the bread is then put into it and acquires a fine color, like that of smoked<sup>44</sup> cheese. Twisted bread contains a little milk, and some pepper and a bit of oil (or else lard) is added to it. A small quantity of wine, pepper, and milk, and a little oil is added to what is called *artolaganon* ("bread-wafer"). Mix up the same ingredients for *kapuria* (also called *tracta*<sup>45</sup>) as for bread.

After this great Roman scholar expounded these Aristarchean<sup>46</sup> opinions, Cynulcus said: By Demeter, what learning!<sup>47</sup> There is a reason why the amazing Blepsias<sup>48</sup>

<sup>43</sup> An Aramaic word.

<sup>44</sup> A Latin loan-word, = *fumosus*.

<sup>45</sup> A Latin word (cognate with *traho*) for a long piece of dough used to produce pastry.

<sup>46</sup> A reference to the immensely learned Aristarchus of Samothrace, head of the Library in Alexandria c.153–144 BCE.

<sup>47</sup> Probably a poetic fragment, given the unexpected use of Doric *Damater*.

- e θαυμάσιος | Βλεψίας καὶ πλοῦτον ἀπηνέγκατο τοσοῦτον ἐκ τῆς καλῆς ταύτης σοφίας ὑπὲρ Γοργίαν καὶ Πρωταγόραν. ὅθεν ὁκνῶ μὰ τὰς θεὰς εἰπεῖν πότερον αὐτὸς οὐ βλέπει ἢ οἱ ἑαυτοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτῷ παραδιδόντες πάντες ἓνα ἔχουσιν ὀφθαλμόν, ὥς μόλις διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ὁρᾶν. μακαρίους οὖν αὐτούς, μᾶλλον δὲ μακαρίτας εἶναί φημι τοιαύτας δείξεις τῶν διδασκάλων ποιουμένων. πρὸς δὲ ὁ Μάγνος φιλοτράπεζος ὢν καὶ τὸν γραμματικὸν τοῦτον ὑπερεπαινῶν διὰ τὴν f ἐκτένειαν ἔφη· |

οὔτοι ἀνιπτόποδες χαμαιευνάδες ἀερίοικοι,  
κατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν Εὐβουλον,

ἀνόσιοι λάρυγγες,  
ἀλλοτριῶν κτεάνων παραδειπνίδες,

οὐ χῶ προπάτωρ ὑμῶν Διογένης πλακοῦντά ποτε ἐσθίων ἐν δείπνῳ λάβρως πρὸς τὸν πυνθανόμενον ἔλεγεν ἄρτον ἐσθίειν καλῶς πεποιημένον; ὑμεῖς δ'

ὦ λοπαδάγchai,

κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ποιητὴν Εὐβουλον,

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<sup>48</sup> A mocking nickname (cognate with *blepō*, “see”; cf. below) used by Cynulcus to refer to Arrian.

<sup>49</sup> Two of the most famous late 5th-/early 4th-century sophists.

<sup>50</sup> *ou blepei*, punning on Blepsias (above).

<sup>51</sup> The idea is apparently that Arrian’s disciples resemble the

### BOOK III

has countless disciples and has made so much money from this marvellous learning of his, outdoing Gorgias and Protagoras.<sup>49</sup> I am therefore reluctant, by the goddesses, to say whether he himself is blind<sup>50</sup>, or whether those who surrender themselves to him as disciples all have only one eye, as a result of which they can barely see, because there are so many of them.<sup>51</sup> I accordingly refer to them as “blessed”—or rather as “of blessed memory”—if their teachers put on displays like this. In response, Magnus, who was a great lover of dinner parties and liked to heap lavish praise on this grammarian<sup>52</sup> because of his eagerness for his subject, said:

You of the unwashed feet, who make your beds on  
the ground and whose roof is the open sky,

as the comic poet Eubulus (fr. 137, encompassing the lines that follow as well) puts it,

unholy gullets,  
who dine on other people's goods—

didn't your forefather Diogenes<sup>53</sup> once, when he was greedily eating a cake at a dinner party, say to a man who questioned him that he was eating nicely-made bread? But you,

O snatchers of casserole dishes,

as the same poet, Eubulus, puts it,

mythical Graeae, all three of whom shared a single eye (as well as a single tooth).

<sup>52</sup> Arrian; the attack that follows is directed at Cynulcus.

<sup>53</sup> Diogenes of Sinope, the original Cynic; cf. 2.49a with n.

λευκῶν ὑπογαστριδίων,

- 114 ἑτέροις οὐ παραχωροῦντες φθέγγεσθε καὶ τὰς ἡσυχίας οὐκ ἄγετε, ἕως || ἂν τις ὑμῖν ὡς κυνιδίοις ἄρτων ἢ ὀστέων προσρίψῃ. πόθεν ὑμῖν εἰδέναι ὅτι καὶ κύβοι, οὐχ οὓς αἰεὶ μεταχειρίζεσθε, ἄρτοι εἰσὶ τετράγωνοι, ἡδυσμένοι ἀννήθῳ καὶ τυρῷ καὶ ἐλαίῳ, ὥς φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ἐν Ὀψαρτυτικῷ; παρεῖδε δὲ τοῦτον ὁ Βλεψίας, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν θάργηλον, ὃν τινες καλοῦσι θαλύσιον—Κράτης δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἀττικῆς Διαλέκτου θάργηλον καλεῖσθαι τὸν ἐκ τῆς συγκομιδῆς πρῶτον γινόμενον ἄρτον—καὶ τὸν σησαμίτην. οὐχ ἐώρακε δὲ οὐδὲ τὸν ἀνάστατον καλούμενον, ὃς ταῖς ἀρρηφόροις  
b γίνεται. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ | πυραμοῦς ἄρτος διὰ σησάμων πεττόμενος καὶ τάχα ὁ αὐτὸς τῷ σησαμίτῃ ὢν. μνημονεύει δὲ πάντων τούτων Τρύφων ἐν πρώτῳ Φυτικῶν, καθάπερ καὶ τῶν θιαγόνων ὀνομαζομένων· οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν ἄρτοι θεοῖς πεττόμενοι ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ. δράμικες δὲ καὶ ἀράξεις παρ' Ἀθαμᾶσιν ἄρτοι τινὲς οὕτως καλοῦνται. καὶ οἱ γλωσσογράφοι δὲ ἄρτων ὀνόματα καταλέγουσι. Σέλευκος μὲν δράμιν ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων οὕτως καλούμενον, δάρατον δ' ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν ἐτνίταν δέ  
c φησι ἄρτον εἶναι λεκιθίτην, ἐρικίτας δὲ καλεῖσθαι | τὸν ἐξ ἐρηριγμένου καὶ ἀσήστου πυροῦ γινόμενον καὶ χονδρώδους. Ἀμερίας δὲ καλεῖ ξηροπυρίταν τὸν αὐτόπυρον ἄρτον· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Τιμαχίδας. Νίκαν-

<sup>54</sup> Another allusion to the root-meaning of the name Blepsias (see 3.113e n.), like “he has failed to note” below.



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full of white belly-steaks,

you talk without letting anyone else get a word in; you are not quiet until you are thrown some bread or bones, like puppies. How could you be aware that dice (not the type you always have in your hands!) are square loaves of bread seasoned with anise, cheese, and oil, according to Heraclides in the *Art of Cooking*? Blepsias overlooked<sup>54</sup> this type, as well as the *thargēlos*, which some authorities refer to as *thalusios*—Crates in Book II of the *Attic Dialect* (FGrH 362 F 6 = fr. 106 Broggiato) reports that the first bread produced after the harvest is called *thargēlos*—and sesame bread. He has also failed to note the so-called *anastatos* bread, which is produced for the *arrhēphoroi*<sup>55</sup>. There is *puramous* bread too, which is baked with sesame seeds and is perhaps the same as sesame bread. Tryphon mentions all of these in Book I of *On Plants* (fr. 116 Velsen), as well as what are called *thiagonoi*; this is a type of bread baked for the gods in Aetolia.<sup>56</sup> *Dramikes* and *araxeis* are the Athamanians' names for certain varieties of bread. The glossographers also list names of breads. Seleucus (fr. 50 Müller) mentions what the Macedonians call *dramis* but the Thessalians refer to as *daratos*<sup>57</sup>, and says that *etnitas* is bread made of legumes, and that *erikitas* is the term for bread made of coarse-ground, rough, unsifted wheat. Amerias (p. 12 Hoffmann) refers to whole-wheat bread as *xēropuritē* ("dry-wheat"), as does Timachidas (fr. 29 Blinkenberg). Nicander (fr. 136 Schnei-

<sup>55</sup> A group of Athenian girls who lived on the Acropolis for a year and carried out various sacred rites.

<sup>56</sup> See below, where this bit of information is attributed to Nicander. <sup>57</sup> Cf. 3.110d.

δρος δὲ θιαγόνας φησὶν ἄρτους ὑπ' Αἰτωλῶν καλεῖσθαι τοὺς τοῖς θεοῖς γινομένους. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ τὸν ὑποξίζοντ' ἄρτον κυλλᾶστιν καλοῦσιν. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ Ἀριστοφάνης Δαναίσι

καὶ τὸν κυλλᾶστιν φθέγγου καὶ τὸν Πετόσιριν.

μνημονεύουσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἑκαταῖος καὶ Ἡρόδοτος καὶ Φανόδημος ἐν ἐβδόμῃ Ἀτθίδος. ὁ δὲ Θυατειρηνὸς  
d Νίκανδρος | τὸν ἐκ τῆς κριθῆς ἄρτον γινόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων κυλλᾶστίν φησι καλεῖσθαι. τοὺς δὲ ῥυπαροὺς ἄρτους φαιοὺς ὠνόμασεν Ἀλεξίς ἐν Κυπρίῳ οὕτως·

(A.) ἔπειτα πῶς ἦλθες; (B.) μόλις ὀπτωμένους κατέλαβον. (A.) ἐξόλοι'. ἀτὰρ πόσους φέρεις; (B.) ἐκκαίδεκ'. (A.) οἶσε δεῦρο

< . . . >

(B.) λευκοὺς μὲν ὀκτώ, τῶν δὲ φαιῶν τοὺς ἴσους.

βλήμα δέ φησι καλεῖσθαι τὸν ἐντεθρυμμένον ἄρτον καὶ θερμὸν Σέλευκος. Φιλήμων δ' ἐν πρώτῳ Παντοδα-  
e πῶν Χρηστηρίων πύρνον φησὶ καλεῖσθαι | τὸν ἐκ πυρῶν ἀσῆστων γινόμενον ἄρτον καὶ πάντα ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχοντα, βλωμιαίους τε ἄρτους ὀνομάζεσθαι λέγει τοὺς ἔχοντας ἐντομάς, οὓς Ῥωμαῖοι κοδράτους λέγουσι, βραττίμην τε καλεῖσθαι τὸν πιτυρίτην ἄρτον, ὃν εὐκο-

<sup>58</sup> A pseudo-historical Egyptian priest, who along with King

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der) claims that the loaves of bread produced for the gods are called *thiagones* by the Aetolians. The Egyptians refer to their sour bread as *kullastis*. Aristophanes mentions it in *Danaids* (fr. 267):

Use the words *kullastis* and *Petosiris*<sup>58</sup>!

Hecataeus (*FGrH* 1 F 322), Herodotus (2.77.4), and Phanodemus in Book VII of his *History of Attica* (*FGrH* 325 F 7) also mention it. Nicander of Thyateira (*FGrH* 343 F 10) says that the Egyptians call barley bread *kullastis*. Alexis uses the term "gray" for dirty loaves of bread<sup>59</sup> in *The Man from Cyprus* (fr. 125), as follows:

(A.) So how did your errand go? (B.) I got them just as they were being baked. (A.) Damn you! But how many have you brought? (B.) 16. (A.) Bring them here . . .

(B.) Eight white loaves, and an equal number of the gray ones.

Seleucus (fr. 40 Müller) says that warm bread crumbled into liquid is called *blēma*. Philemon says in Book I of *A Complete List of Sacrificial Offerings* that *purnos* is the name for bread that is made from unsifted flour and contains all parts of the grain; he also reports that incised loaves, which the Romans refer to as *kodratoi*<sup>60</sup>, are called *blōmiaioi*, and that *brammitē* is the term for bran bread,

Nechepso eventually came to be identified as authors of a late Hellenistic astrological work.

<sup>59</sup> I.e. loaves made from flour that was particularly full of bran and various impurities; cf. Pl. Com. fr. 92, quoted at 3.110d.

<sup>60</sup> Latin *quadrati*.



νον<sup>4</sup> ὀνομάζουσιν Ἀμερίας καὶ Τιμαχίδας. Φιλητᾶς δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἀτάκτοις σποδέα<sup>5</sup> καλεῖσθαί τινα ἄρτον, ὃν ὑπὸ τῶν συγγενῶν μόνον καταναλίσκεσθαι.

Καὶ μάζας δ' ἔστιν εὐρεῖν ἀναγεγραμμένας παρά τε τῷ Τρύφωνι καὶ παρ' ἄλλοις πλείοσιν. παρ' Ἀθηναίοις μὲν φύστην τὴν μὴ ἰ ἄγαν τετριμμένην, ἔτι δὲ καρδαμάλην καὶ βήρηκα καὶ τολύπας καὶ Ἀχιλλεῖον· καὶ ἴσως αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ἐξ Ἀχιλλείων κριθῶν γινομένη· θριδακίνας τε καὶ οἰνοῦτταν καὶ μελιτοῦτταν καὶ κρίνον < . . . > καλούμενον καὶ σχῆμά τι χορικῆς ὀρχήσεως παρ' Ἀπολλοφάνει ἐν Δαλίδι. αἱ δὲ παρ' Ἀλκμᾶνι θριδακίσκαι λεγόμεναι αἱ αὐταί εἰσι ταῖς Ἀττικαῖς θριδακίναῖς. λέγει δὲ οὕτως ὁ Ἀλκμάν·

< . . . > θριδακίσκας τε καὶ κριβανωτῶς.

- 115 Σωσίβιος δ' ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος || κρίβανά φησι λέγεσθαι πλακοῦντάς τινας τῷ σχήματι μαστοειδεῖς. ὑγίεια δὲ καλεῖται ἡ διδομένη ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις μᾶζα ἵνα ἀπογεύσωνται. καὶ Ἡσίοδος δὲ μᾶζάν τιν' ἀμολγαίαν καλεῖ·

μᾶζά τ' ἀμολγαίῃ γάλα τ' αἰγῶν σβεννυμενάων,

<sup>4</sup> εὐκονον τευκονον A

<sup>5</sup> σποδέα Schweighäuser: σπολέα A: σπολεύς CE

<sup>61</sup> Perhaps *teukonos*; the manuscripts have both forms of the word, and one or the other must be expelled.

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which Amerias (p. 10 Hoffmann) and Timachidas (fr. 26 Blinkenberg) call *eukonos*<sup>61</sup>. Philetas in his *Miscellany* (fr. 11 Dettori) reports that *spodeus* is the name of a type of bread consumed only by one's relatives.

Barley-cakes<sup>62</sup> can also be found in the records produced by Tryphon (fr. 118 Velsen) and many others. The Athenians have the *phustē*,<sup>63</sup> which is not worked very hard, as well as pepper-cress cake, *bērēx*, ball-of-wool cake,<sup>64</sup> the Achilleion—this is perhaps the type made with Achilleian barley<sup>65</sup>—lettuce cake, wine cake, honey cake, lily cake . . . the same term is used for a choral dance-step by Apollophanes in *Dalis* (fr. 2). What Alcman calls *thridakiskai* are the same as Attic lettuce cakes (*thridakinai*). Alcman (PMG 94) says the following:

lettuce cakes (*thridakiskai*) and baking-shell bread  
(*kribanōtoi*).

Sosibius in Book III of *On Alcman* (FGrH 595 F 6b) says that *kribana* are a type of cake shaped like a breast.<sup>66</sup> The barley-cake of which everyone at sacrifices is offered a taste is called a "health." Hesiod (*Op.* 590) too refers to a type of barley-cake as an *amolgaia*:

and an *amolgaiē* barley-cake and milk from she-goats  
running dry.

<sup>62</sup> Unlike wheat bread, barley-cakes were not baked but merely kneaded into shape. <sup>63</sup> Cf. 4.137e, 147c.

<sup>64</sup> For the *bērēx* and the ball-of-wool cake, cf. 4.140a (where the former is referred to in the Doric form *barax*).

<sup>65</sup> A particularly fine variety of barley.

<sup>66</sup> See 14.646a (where the word is given in a slightly different form) for a more complete version of Sosibius' note.

τὴν ποιμενικὴν λέγων καὶ ἀκμαίαν· ἀμολγὸς γὰρ τὸ ἀκμαιότατον. παραιτητέον δὲ καταλέγειν—οὐδὲ γὰρ οὕτως εὐτυχῶς μνήμης ἔχω—<sup>67</sup> ἐξέθετο πόπανα καὶ  
 b πέμματα Ἀριστομένης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τρίτῳ | τῶν  
 Πρὸς τὰς Ἱερουργίας. ἔγνωμεν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸν ἄνδρα  
 τοῦτον νεώτεροι πρεσβύτερον. ὑποκριτὴς δὲ ἦν ἀρχαί-  
 ας κωμωδίας ἀπελεύθερος τοῦ μουσικωτάτου βασιλέ-  
 ως Ἀδριανοῦ, καλούμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Ἀττικοπέρδιξ.  
 καὶ ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς ἔφη· ὁ δ' ἀπελεύθερος παρὰ τίνι  
 κεῖται; εἰπόντος δέ τινος καὶ δράμα ἐπιγράφεσθαι  
 Φρυνίχου Ἀπελευθέρους, Μένανδρον δ' ἐν Ῥαπιζο-  
 μένῃ καὶ ἀπελευθέραν εἰρηκέναι καὶ ἐπισυνάπτοντος  
 < . . . > πάλιν ἔφη· τίνι δὲ διαφέρει ἐξελευθέρου; ταῦτα  
 c μὲν οὖν ἔδοξε κατὰ τὸ παρὸν | ἀναβαλέσθαι.

Καὶ ὁ Γαληνὸς μελλόντων ἡμῶν ἐφάπτεσθαι τῶν  
 ἄρτων, οὐ πρότερον, ἔφη, δειπνήσομεν, ἕως ἂν καὶ  
 παρ' ἡμῶν ἀκούσῃτε ὅσα εἰρήκασι περὶ ἄρτων ἢ  
 περμμάτων ἔτι τε ἀλφίτων Ἀσκληπιαδῶν παῖδες. Δίφι-  
 λος μὲν ὁ Σίφνιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Προσφερομένων  
 τοῖς Νοσοῦσι καὶ τοῖς Ὑγιαίνουσιν, ἄρτοι, φησὶν, οἱ  
 ἐκ πυρῶν κριθίνων εἰσὶ πολυτροφώτεροι καὶ εὐοικονο-  
 μητότεροι καὶ τὸ ὅλον κρείττονες, εἰθ' οἱ σεμιδαλῖται,  
 μεθ' οὓς οἱ ἀλευρίται, εἰθ' οἱ συγκομιστοὶ ἐξ ἀσήστων  
 d ἀλεύρων | γινόμενοι· οὗτοι γὰρ πολυτροφώτεροι εἶναι

<sup>67</sup> The meaning of the word is in fact obscure, although it is probably cognate with *amolgē*, "milking"; see West's n. on the line from Hesiod. <sup>68</sup> Stephanis #361.

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He means the type that is eaten by shepherds and is the best there is, since whatever is at its very best is called *amolgos*.<sup>67</sup> I must beg off offering a list—my memory is not that good—of the various sacrificial cakes described by Aristomenes of Athens<sup>68</sup> in Book III of his *On Sacrifices* (FGrH 364 F 1). I got to know this fellow when I was quite young and he was older; he was an Old Comic actor and a freedman (*apeleutheros*) of the highly cultivated emperor Hadrian<sup>69</sup>, who called him “the Attic Partridge.” And Ulpian said: In what author is the word “freedman” attested? Someone replied that a play by Phrynichus was entitled *Freedmen*<sup>70</sup>, and that Menander uses the term “freedwoman” in *The Girl Who Was Beaten with a Stick* (fr. 332); and he added . . . (Ulpian) answered: How does this word differ from *exeleutheros*? It was decided to put these questions off for the moment.<sup>71</sup>

As we were about to begin consuming the bread, Galen said: We are not going to dine until I tell you what some of the children of the Asclepiadae<sup>72</sup> have to say about bread and cakes, as well as barley-meal. Diphilus of Siphnos in his *On Food for the Sick and the Healthy* says: Wheat bread is more nutritious, more easily digested, and generally superior to barley bread, first bread of top-quality flour, then after this bread made of ordinary flour, then finally whole-wheat bread made of unsifted flour; for these appear to be the most nutritious. Philistion of Locris (fr. 9

<sup>69</sup> Reigned 117–138 AD.

<sup>70</sup> The play was also called *Tragic Actors* (*Suda*  $\phi$  763), under which title Athenaeus cites it repeatedly (e.g. 7.287b; 14.654b).

<sup>71</sup> The matter is not, in fact, ever taken up again.

<sup>72</sup> The physicians.

δοκοῦσι. Φιλιστίων δ' ὁ Λοκρὸς τῶν χονδριτῶν τοὺς σεμιδαλίτας πρὸς ἰσχύν φησι μᾶλλον πεφυκέναι· μεθ' οὓς τοὺς χονδρίτας τίθησιν, εἶτα τοὺς ἀλευρίτας. οἱ δὲ ἐκ γύρεως ἄρτοι γινόμενοι κακοχυλότεροί τε εἰσι καὶ ὀλιγοτροφώτεροι. πάντες δ' οἱ θερμοὶ ἄρτοι τῶν ἐψυγμένων εὐοικονομητότεροι πολυτροφώτεροί τε καὶ εὐχυλότεροι, ἔτι δὲ πνευματικοὶ καὶ εὐανάδοτοι. οἱ δ' ἐψυγμένοι πλήσμιοι, δυσοικονόμητοι. οἱ δὲ τελείως παλαιοὶ καὶ κατεψυγμένοι ἀτροφώτεροι στατικοί τε  
e κοιλίας καὶ κακόχυλοι. ὁ δ' ἰ ἐγκρυφίας ἄρτος βαρὺς δυσοικονόμητός τε διὰ τὸ ἀνωμάλως ὀπτᾶσθαι. ὁ δὲ ἰπνίτης καὶ καμινίτης δύσπεπτοι καὶ δυσοικονόμητοι. ὁ δὲ ἐσχαρίτης καὶ ἀπὸ τηγάνου διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἐλαίου ἐπίμιξιν εὐεκκριτώτερος, διὰ δὲ τὸ κνισθὲν κακοστομαχώτερος. ὁ δὲ κλιβανίτης πάσαις ταῖς ἀρεταῖς περιττεύει· εὐχυλος γὰρ καὶ εὐστόμαχος καὶ εὐπεπτος καὶ πρὸς ἀνάδοσιν ῥᾶστος· οὔτε γὰρ ἰστάνει κοιλίαν οὔτε παρατείνει. Ἀνδρέας δὲ ὁ ἱατρὸς ἄρτους τινάς φησιν ἐν Συρίᾳ γίνεσθαι ἐκ συκαμίνων, ὧν τοὺς  
f φαγόντας τριχορρυεῖν. Μνησίθεος δέ φησι τὸν ἰ ἄρτον τῆς μάξης εὐπεπτότερον εἶναι καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς τίφης μᾶλλον ἱκανῶς τρέφειν· πέττεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐ μετὰ πολλοῦ πόνου. τὸν δ' ἐκ τῶν ζειῶν ἄρτον ἄδην φησὶν ἐσθιόμενον βαρὺν εἶναι καὶ δύσπεπτον· διὸ οὐχ ὑγιαίνειν τοὺς αὐτὸν ἐσθιόντας. εἰδέναι δὲ  
116 ὑμᾶς δεῖ || ὅτι τὰ μὴ πυρωθέντα ἢ τριφθέντα σιτία φύ-

<sup>73</sup> Cf. 3.110a.

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Wellmann) says that bread made with top-quality flour promotes physical strength more than bread made of coarse-ground flour does; he ranks bread made with coarse-ground flour second, and bread made with ordinary flour after that. Bread made with very fine meal produces worse *chulē* ("digestive juice") and is less nourishing. Warm bread of all sorts is more easily digested and more nourishing than bread that has cooled, and produces better *chulē*; it also promotes pneumatic action and is easily assimilated. Bread that has cooled is filling and not easily digested. Bread that is quite old and very cold is less nourishing, arrests the movement of the bowels, and produces bad *chulē*. *Enkruphias*-bread<sup>73</sup> is heavy and difficult to digest because it is baked unevenly. Oven bread and kiln bread are difficult to break down and digest. Brazier bread and bread made in a frying-pan are easier to excrete, because oil has been mixed into them, but are harder on the stomach because of their greasiness. Baking-shell bread is rich in good characteristics of all sorts, for it produces good *chulē*, is easy on the stomach, and is easily digested, broken down, and assimilated, because it neither arrests the movement of the bowels nor distends them. Andreas the physician (fr. 41 von Staden) says that a type of bread is produced in Syria from mulberries, and that anyone who eats it loses his hair. Mnesitheus (fr. 28 Bertier) says that bread is more easily broken down than barley-cake, and that bread made of einkorn supplies more adequate nutrition, since it is broken down without difficulty. As for bread made of rice-wheat, he says that if one eats it until one is full, it is heavy and difficult to break down, and that as a result those who eat it are unhealthy. You ought to be aware that breadstuffs that are neither baked nor kneaded pro-

σας καὶ βάρη καὶ στρόφους καὶ κεφαλαλγίας ποιεῖ.

Μετὰ τὰς τοσαύτας διαλέξεις ἔδοξεν ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ δειπνεῖν, καὶ περιενεχθέντος τοῦ καλουμένου ωραίου ὁ Λεωνίδης ἔφη· Εὐθύδημος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ταρίχων Ἡσίοδόν φησι περὶ πάντων τῶν ταριχενομένων τάδ' εἰρηκέναι·

† ἄμφακες μὲν πρῶτον στόμα καὶ κριται ἀντα  
καὶ θιογν †

γναθμὸν <ὄν> ἠνδάξαντο δυσείμονες

b ἰχθυβολῆες, |

οἷς ὁ ταριχόπλεως ἄδε Βόσπορος, οἷ θ'  
ὑπόγαστρα

τμήγοντες τετράγωνα ταρίχια τεκταίνονται.

ναὶ μὴν οὐκ ἀκλεῆς θνητοῖς γένος ὀξυρρύγχου,

ὄν καὶ ὅλον καὶ τμητὸν Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἐκόμισσαν.

c θύννων δ' ωραίων Βυζάντιον ἔπλετο μήτηρ |

καὶ σκόμβρων κυβίων τε καὶ εὐχόρτου †

λικιβάττεω †,

καὶ Πάριον κολιῶν κυδρὴ τροφὸς ἔσκε πολίχνη·

Ἰόνιον δ' ἀνὰ κῶμα φέρων Γαδειρόθεν ἄξει

Βρέττιος ἢ Καμπανὸς ἢ ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ Τάραντος

ὀρκύνιοι τρίγωνα, τά τ' <ἐν> στάμνοισι τεθέντα

ἀμφαλλὰξ δείπνοισιν ἐνὶ πρώτοισιν ὀπηδεῖ.

d ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ τινος μαγείρου εἶναι |

<sup>74</sup> Literally "peak-season (saltfish)."

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duce flatulence, a heavy feeling, cramps, and headaches.

After these lengthy discussions, the decision was finally made to dine. After the so-called *horaion*<sup>74</sup> made its way around the company, Leonides said: Euthydemus of Athens, my friends, reports in his *On Saltfish* (SH 455) that Hesiod has the following to say about preserved fish of every sort:

† First of all a two-edged mouth [corrupt], †  
which the ill-dressed fishermen refer to as “the jaw”;  
the saltfish-rich Bosphorus takes pleasure in these, as  
do those  
who cut up the belly-sections to make squares of  
preserved fish.  
Certainly the family of the sharp-nosed one<sup>75</sup> is not  
inglorious among mortals;  
the inhabitants of Alexandria take it home both whole  
and in pieces.  
Byzantium is the mother of peak-season tuna  
and of mackerel, gobies, and fattening [corrupt];  
and the city of Parion is a glorious nurse of Spanish  
mackerel.  
Bearing them over the Ionian wave from Cadiz  
or lovely Tarentum, a Bruttian or Campanian will  
bring  
triangular chunks of tuna which, tightly packed in  
jars,  
accompany the beginning of dinner.

In my opinion, these verses were composed by a cook

<sup>75</sup> Presumably the sturgeon.



μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ μουσικωτάτου Ἑσιόδου. πόθεν γὰρ εἶδέναι δύναται Πάριον ἢ Βυζάντιον, ἔτι δὲ Τάραντα καὶ Βρεττίους καὶ Καμπανοὺς πολλοῖς ἔτεσι τούτων πρεσβύτερος ὢν; δοκεῖ οὖν μοι αὐτοῦ τοῦ Εὐθυδήμου εἶναι τὰ ποιήματα. καὶ ὁ Διονυσοκλῆς ἔφη· ὅτου μὲν ἐστὶ τὰ ποιήματα, ὧ ἀγαθὲ Λεωνίδη, ὑμῶν ἐστὶ κρίνειν τῶν δοκιμωτάτων γραμματικῶν· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ περὶ ταρίχων ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος, περὶ ὧν οἶδα καὶ παροιμίαν μνήμης ἡξιωμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ Σολέως Κλεάρχου·

e      σαπρὸς τάριχος | τὴν ὀρίγανον φιλεῖ,

ἔρχομαι καὶ γὰρ λέξων τι περὶ αὐτῶν, τὰ τῆς τέχνης. Διοκλῆς μὲν ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν τοῖς Ἑγυινοῖς ἐπιγραφομένοις τῶν ταρίχων φησὶ τῶν ἀπιμέλων κράτιστα εἶναι τὰ ὠραῖα, τῶν δὲ πιόνων τὰ θύννεια. Ἰκέσιος δ' ἱστορεῖ οὐκ εἶναι εὐεκκρίτους κοιλίας οὔτε πηλαμύδας οὔτε τὰ ὠραῖα, τὰ δὲ νεώτερα τῶν θυννείων τὴν αὐτὴν ἀναλογίαν ἔχειν τοῖς κυβίοις μεγάλην τε εἶναι διαφορὰν πρὸς πάντα τὰ ὠραῖα λεγόμενα. ὁμοίως δὲ λέγει καὶ τῶν Βυζαντίων ὠραίων πρὸς τὰ ἀφ' ἑτέρων τόπων  
f      λαμβανόμενα καὶ οὐ μόνον τῶν θυννείων, | ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀλισκομένων ἐν Βυζαντίῳ. τούτοις προσέθηκεν ὁ Ἐφέσιος Δάφνος· Ἀρχέστρατος μὲν ὁ περιπλεύσας τὴν οἰκουμένην γαστρὸς ἕνεκα καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν γαστέρα φησί·

<sup>76</sup> Tarentum was founded in the late 8th century. Byzantium in

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rather than by the extremely accomplished Hesiod; for how can he know about Parion or Byzantium, or about Tarentum<sup>76</sup>, Bruttians, and Campanians, given that he is many years older than they are? I therefore believe that the poem is by Euthydemus himself. And Dionysocles said: The question of who wrote this poem, my good Leonides, is up to you distinguished grammarians to decide. But as our subject is saltfish, about which I know a proverb that Clearchus of Soli (fr. 82 Wehrli) thought worthy of mention:

Rotten saltfish likes marjoram,<sup>77</sup>

I too intend to say something about it, on technical matters. Diocles of Carystus in his work entitled *On Matters of Health* (fr. 233 van der Eijk) claims that the best lean saltfish is *horaion*, whereas the best fatty saltfish is made from tuna. Hicesius reports that neither *pēlamudes* ("small tuna") nor *horaia* are easily excreted from the bowels, and that the saltfish made from younger tuna is comparable to *kubion* ("cube-saltfish") and much better than all the varieties referred to as *horaia*. He makes similar remarks about Byzantine *horaion* in comparison to that got elsewhere, and not just about *horaion* made from tuna, but about that made from all the other fish caught in Byzantium as well. To these remarks Daphnis of Ephesus added: Archestratus (fr. 39 Olson–Sens = *SH* 169), who circumnavigated the inhabited world for the sake of his belly and the portions of his anatomy below the belly, says:

the first half of the 7th century, around or a little after the time of the historical Hesiod. <sup>77</sup> Sc. to cover the smell. The same proverb is cited again at 3.119e.

- καὶ Σικελοῦ θύννου τέμαχος < . . . >  
 117 τμηθὲν ὅτ' ἐν βίκουσι ταριχεύεσθαι ἔμελλεν. ||  
 σαπέρδῃ δ' ἐνέπω κλαίειν μακρά, Ποντικῷ ὄψῳ,  
 καὶ τοῖς κείνον ἐπαινοῦσιν· παῦροι γὰρ ἴσασιν  
 ἀνθρώπων, ὅ τι φαῦλον ἔφυ καὶ κεδνὸν ἔδεσμα.  
 ἀλλὰ τριταῖον ἔχειν σκόμβρον πρὶν ἐς ἀλμυρὸν  
 ὕδωρ  
 ἐλθεῖν ἀμφορέως ἐντὸς νέον ἡμιτάριχον.  
 b ἂν δ' ἀφίκη κλεινοῦ Βυζαντίου εἰς πόλιν ἀγνήν, |  
 ὠραίου φάγε μοι τέμαχος πάλιν· ἔστι γὰρ  
 ἐσθλὸν  
 καὶ μαλακόν.

παρέλιπεν δ' ὁ τένθης Ἀρχέστρατος συγκαταλέξαι  
 ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ παρὰ Κράτητι τῷ κωμωδιοποιῷ ἐν Σαμί-  
 οῖς λεγόμενον ἐλεφάντινον τάριχος, περὶ οὗ φησιν·

- σκυτίνη ποτ' ἐν χύτρα τάριχος ἐλεφάντινον  
 ἦψε ποντιάς χελώνῃ πευκίνοισι κύμασι,  
 καρκίνοι ποδάνεμοί τε καὶ ταινύπτεροι λύκοι  
 † υσοριμαχεῖν † ἄνδρες οὐρανοῦ καττύματα.  
 c παῖ' ἐκέῖνον, | ἄγχ' ἐκέῖνον. ἐν Κέῳ τίς ἡμέρα;

ὅτι δὲ διαβόητον ἦν τὸ τοῦ Κράτητος ἐλεφάντινον  
 τάριχος μαρτυρεῖ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Θεσμοφοριαζού-  
 σαις διὰ τούτων·

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<sup>78</sup> The first four lines are a series of *adunata* presented in the form of a riddle. According to Photius ε 972, citing Eup. fr. 288

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and a slice of Sicilian tuna . . .  
cut up when it was about to be pickled in jars.  
But I say to hell with *saperdē*, a Pontic dish,  
and those who praise it; for few people  
know which food is wretched and which is excellent.  
But get a mackerel on the third day, before it goes  
into the saltwater  
within a transport jar as a piece of recently cured,  
half-salted fish.  
And if you come to the holy city of famous  
Byzantium,  
I urge you again to eat a steak of peak-season tuna;  
for it is very good  
and soft.

But the gluttonous Archestratus failed to include for us in  
his catalogue what Crates the comic poet in *Samians* (fr.  
32) refers to as ivory saltfish, about which he says:

Once upon a time a sea-tortoise stewed ivory saltfish  
in a cookpot made of leather with pinewood waves,  
and wind-footed crabs and long-winged wolves  
[corrupt] men scraps of heavenly shoe-leather.  
Hit him! Choke him! What day is it on Ceos?<sup>78</sup>

That Crates' ivory saltfish was notorious is proven by Aristophanes in *Women Celebrating the Thesmophoria* (fr. 347, from *Thesmophoriazusae* II), in the following verses:

("for no one knows what day it is on Ceos"), the Ceans had no fixed calendar, and everyone there kept track of the days however he wished.

ἡ μέγα τι βρῶμ' † ἐστὶ ἡ † τρυγωδοποιο-  
 μουσική,  
 ἡνίκα Κράτης τό τε τάριχος ἐλεφάντινον  
 λαμπρὸν ἐνόμιζεν ἀπόνως παρακεκλημένον  
 ἄλλα τε τοιαῦθ' ἕτερα μυρί' ἐκιχλίζετο.

Ὡμοτάριχον δέ τινα κέκληκεν Ἀλεξίς ἐν Ἀπεγλαυ-  
 κωμένῳ. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ποιητὴς ἐν Πονήρῳ περὶ σκευα-  
 d σίας ταρίχων μάγειρόν τινα παράγει | λέγοντα τάδε·

ὅμως <δὲ> λογίσασθαι πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν βούλομαι  
 καθεζόμενος ἐνταῦθα τὴν ὀψωνίαν,  
 ὁμοῦ τε συντάξαι τί πρῶτον οἰστέον  
 ἡδυντέον τε πῶς ἕκαστόν ἐστί μοι.  
 < . . . > τάριχος πρῶτον ὥραϊον τοδί.  
 διωβόλου τοῦτ' ἐστί. πλυτέον εὖ μάλα.  
 εἴτ' εἰς λοπάδιον ὑποπάσας ἡδύσματα  
 ἐνθεῖς τὸ τέμαχος, λευκὸν οἶνον ἐπιχέας,  
 e ἐπεσκέδασα τοῦλαιον εἴθ' ἔψων ποῶ |  
 μυελὸν ἀφεῖλόν τ' ἐπιγανώσας σιλφίῳ.

ἐν δὲ Ἀπεγλαυκωμένῳ συμβολάς τις ἀπαιτούμενός  
 φησι·

(Α.) παρ' ἐμοῦ δ', εἰ μὴ καθ' ἑν ἕκαστον πάντα  
 † δ' ὥς †,  
 χαλκοῦ μέρος δωδέκατον οὐκ ἂν ἀπολάβοις.

<sup>79</sup> See also Nicostr. fr. 1.2, quoted at 4.133c.

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Certainly a great bit of food † is the † production of  
comic poetry,  
when Crates both considered his saltfish “ivory”  
and “shining” and “summoned without effort,”  
and made a million other such jokes.

Alexis refers to something called raw-saltfish in *The Man Who Had a Cataract* (fr. 15.4, cited below).<sup>79</sup> The same poet in *The Miserable Woman* (fr. 191) introduces a cook who says the following about how saltfish is prepared:

All the same, I want to sit down here  
and privately reckon up the food I’ve bought,  
and simultaneously organize what I ought to serve  
first  
and how I need to season each item.  
... First there’s this *horaion* saltfish here;  
it cost two obols. It has to be thoroughly rinsed;  
then I sprinkle some spices into the casserole-dish;  
put the slice of fish inside; pour white wine over it;  
drizzle oil on top; stew it until it’s  
soft as marrow; and take it out after I’ve glazed it  
with silphium.

In *The Man Who Had a Cataract* (Alex. fr. 15), someone being asked to pay his share of the expenses for a dinner party says:

(A.) Unless [corrupt] every item individually, you  
wouldn’t get a penny<sup>80</sup> out of me.

<sup>80</sup> Literally “one-twelfth of a *chalkous*,” which was a bronze coin = one-eighth of an obol, and thus an exceedingly small amount of money.



- (B.) δίκαιος ὁ λόγος. (A.) ἀβάκιον, ψῆφον. λέγε.  
 (B.) ἔστ' ὠμοτάριχος πέντε χαλκῶν. (A.) λέγ'  
 f ἕτερον. |  
 (B.) μῦς ἑπτὰ χαλκῶν. (A.) οὐδὲν ἀσεβεῖς  
 οὐδέπω.  
 λέγε. (B.) τῶν ἐχίνων ὀβολός. (A.) ἀγνεύεις ἔτι.  
 (B.) ἄρ' ἦν μετὰ ταῦθ' ἡ ράφανος, ἦν ἐβοᾶτε;  
 (A.) ναί.  
 χρηστὴ γὰρ ἦν. (B.) ἔδωκα ταύτης δὺ' ὀβολούς.  
 118 (A.) τί γὰρ ἐβοῶμεν; (B.) τὸ κύβιον τριωβόλου. ||  
 (A.) † ονείλκε χειρῶν γε † οὐκ ἐπράξατ' οὐδὲ ἔν.  
 (B.) οὐκ οἴσθας, ὦ μακάριε, τὴν ἀγοράν, ὅτι  
 κατεδηδόκασιν τὰ λάχαν' <αἱ> τρωξαλλίδες.  
 (A.) διὰ τοῦτο <τὸ> τάριχος τέθεικας διπλασίου;  
 (B.) ὁ ταριχοπώλης ἐστίν· ἐλθὼν πυνθάνου.  
 γόγγρος δέκ' ὀβολῶν. (A.) οὐχὶ πολλοῦ. λέγ'  
 ἕτερον.  
 (B.) τὸν ὀπτὸν ἰχθὺν ἐπριάμην δραχμῆς. (A.)  
 παπαῖ,  
 ὥσπερ πυρετὸς ἀνῆκεν, εἴτ' † ἐν ἐπιτέλει †.  
 (B.) πρόσθες τὸν οἶνον, <ὃν> μεθυόντων  
 προσέλαβον  
 ὑμῶν, χοᾶς τρεῖς, δέκ' ὀβολῶν ὁ χούς.

- b Ἰκέσιος δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ Ὑλῆς πηλαμύδας | κύβια  
 εἶναί φησι μεγάλα. κυβίων δὲ μνημονεύει Ποσειδίπ-

81 Addressed to a slave.

82 "Bronze pieces," i.e. small coins.

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(B.) Fair enough. (A.) Bring an abacus and some counting pebbles!<sup>81</sup> Go ahead!

(B.) There's raw-saltfish for five *chalkoi*. (A.) Next item!

(B.) Mussels for seven *chalkoi*.<sup>82</sup> (A.) You haven't committed any sacrilege so far.

Next item! (B.) An obol for the sea-urchins. (A.) You're still clean.

(B.) Wasn't what came after that the cabbage you kept shouting for? (A.) Yeah—

it was good. (B.) I paid two obols for it.

(A.) So why did we shout for it? (B.) The cube-saltfish cost three obols.

(A.) Didn't he charge anything for [corrupt]?

(B.) My dear sir, you don't know how matters are in the marketplace;

the locusts have consumed the vegetables.

(A.) Is that why you've charged double for the saltfish?

(B.) That's the saltfish-dealer; go ask him about it.

Conger eel for ten obols. (A.) That's not much. Next item!

(B.) I purchased the roast fish for a drachma. (A.) Damn!

It dropped like a fever, then [corrupt].

(B.) Add the wine I bought when you were drunk: three *choes*, at ten obols per *chous*.<sup>83</sup>

Hicesius in Book II of *On Raw Materials* says that *pēlamudes* are large pieces of cube-saltfish. Posidippus men-

<sup>83</sup> A *chous* is a liquid measure equal to about 3.2 litres.



πος ἐν Μεταφερομένῳ. Εὐθύδημος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ταρί-  
 χων τὸν δελκανόν φησιν ἰχθὺν ὀνομάζεσθαι ἀπὸ Δέλ-  
 κωνος τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἀφ' οὗπερ καὶ ἀλίκεσθαι, καὶ  
 ταριχευόμενον εὐστομαχώτατον εἶναι. Δωρίων δ' ἐν  
 τῷ Περὶ Ἰχθύων τὸν<sup>6</sup> λεβίαν ὀνομάζων φησὶ λέγειν  
 τινὰς ὡς <ὁ> αὐτός ἐστι τῷ δελκανῷ, τὸν δὲ κορακῖνον  
 ὑπὸ πολλῶν λέγεσθαι σαπέρδην καὶ εἶναι κράτιστον  
 τὸν ἐκ τῆς Μαιώτιδος λίμνης. θαυμαστοὺς δὲ εἶναι  
 c λέγει | καὶ τοὺς περὶ Ἀβδήρα ἀλισκομένους κεστρεῖς,  
 μεθ' οὓς τοὺς περὶ Σινώπην, καὶ ταριχευομένους εὐ-  
 στομάχους ὑπάρχειν. τοὺς δὲ προσαγορευομένους φη-  
 σὶ μύλλους ὑπὸ μὲν τινων καλεῖσθαι ἀγνωτίδια, ὑπὸ  
 δὲ τινων πλατιστάκους ὄντας τοὺς αὐτούς, καθάπερ  
 καὶ τὸν χελλαρίην· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτον ἓνα ὄντα ἰχθὺν  
 πολλῶν ὀνομασιῶν τετυχηκέναι· καλεῖσθαι γὰρ καὶ  
 βάκχον καὶ ὀνίσκον καὶ χελλαρίην. οἱ μὲν οὖν μεί-  
 ζονες αὐτῶν ὀνομάζονται πλατίστακοι, οἱ δὲ μέσσην  
 ἔχοντες ἡλικίαν μύλλοι, οἱ δὲ βαιοὶ τοῖς μεγέθεσιν  
 d ἀγνωτίδια. μνημονεύει δὲ τῶν μύλλων καὶ | Ἀριστο-  
 φάνης ἐν Ὀλκάσι·

σκόμβροι, κολίαι, λεβίαι, μύλλοι, σαπέρδαι,  
 θυννίδες.

Ἐπὶ τούτοις σιωπήσαντος τοῦ Διονυσοκλέους ὁ

<sup>6</sup> τὸν λεπτηνὸν A

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tions cube-saltfish in *The Man Who Tried To Change*<sup>84</sup> (fr. 17). Euthydemus in his *On Saltfish* says that the fish known as the *delkanos* gets its name from the Delcon river, where it is caught, and that when preserved, it is very easy on the stomach. When Dorion mentions the *lebias* in his *On Fish*, he says that some authorities identify it with the *delkanos*, and notes that many people call the *korakinos* a *saperdēs* and that it is best when taken from the Sea of Azov. He also reports that the gray mullets caught around Abdera are outstanding;<sup>85</sup> that after them come those caught around Sinope; and that when preserved, they are easy on the stomach. He says that some authorities refer to the fish called *mulloi* as *agnōtidia*, while others call them *platistakoi*, which are the same creature, as is the *chellariēs*. This is only one fish, but has been given many names, since it is also known as a *bakchos*, *oniskos*, and *chellariēs*. The large ones are called *platistakoi*; those that are not yet full-grown are *mulloi*; and the small ones are *agnōtidia*. Aristophanes also mentions *mulloi* in *Merchantships* (fr. 430):

mackerel, Spanish mackerel, *lebiai*, *mulloi*, *saperdai*,  
tuna.

Dionysocles kept quiet,<sup>86</sup> and the grammarian Varus

<sup>84</sup> I.e. to sobriety from a profligate style of life? The title is elsewhere given in the plural.

<sup>85</sup> A bit of information apparently drawn from Archestr. fr. 44 Olson–Sens (cited at 7.307b).

<sup>86</sup> Dionysocles (also a physician) spoke briefly at 3.116d–f, and the implication would seem to be that he might have been expected to respond somehow to Daphnus.

γραμματικὸς ἔφη Οὔαρος· ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Ἀντιφάνης ὁ ποιητὴς ἐν Δευκαλίωνι ταρίχων τῶνδε μέμνηται·

τάριχος ἀντακαῖον εἴ τις βούλετ' ἢ  
Γαδειρικόν, Βυζαντίας δὲ θυννίδος  
† εὐφροσύναις † ὁσμαῖσι χαίρει.

καὶ ἐν Παρασίτῳ·

τάριχος ἀντακαῖον ἐν μέσῳ  
πίον, ὀλόλευκον, θερμόν.

e Νικόστρατός τε ἢ Φιλέταιρος ἐν Ἀντύλλῳ· |

Βυζάντιόν <τε> τέμαχος ἐπιβακχευσάτω,  
Γαδειρικόν θ' ὑπογάστριον παρεισίτω.

καὶ προελθών·

ἀλλ' ἐπριάμην παρ' ἀνδρός, ὃ γῇ καὶ θεοί,  
ταριχοπώλου πάνυ καλοῦ τε καὶ ἀγαθοῦ  
τιλτὸν μέγιστον, ἄξιον δραχμῆς, δυοῖν  
ὀβολοῖν, ὃν οὐκ ἂν καταφάγοιμεν ἡμερῶν  
τριῶν ἂν ἐσθίοντες οὐδὲ δώδεκα·

f ὑπερμέγεθες γάρ ἐστιν. |

ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς ἀποβλέψας εἰς τὸν Πλούταρχον ἔφη· μήποτ' οὔτις ἐν τούτοις, ὃ οὔτος, τοὺς παρ' ὑμῖν τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι κατέλεξε Μενδησίους, ὃν οὐδ' ἂν μαινόμενος κύων γεύσαιο ἂν ποτε, ἢ τῶν

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responded: Well, the poet Antiphanes as well mentions these types of saltfish in *Deucalion* (fr. 78):

If anyone wants sturgeon-saltfish or  
the kind that comes from Cadiz, and takes pleasure  
in † festivities † the smell of Byzantine tuna.

And in *The Parasite* (fr. 184):

In the middle is sturgeon-saltfish,  
fat, all-white, warm.

Also Nicostratus or Philetaerus in *Antyllus* (Nicostr. fr. 5, encompassing both quotations):

And let a slice of Byzantine fish burst in like a  
bacchant,  
and a belly-slice from Cadiz enter next to it!

And further on:

But I purchased, O earth and gods, from  
a quite distinguished saltfish-seller  
a very large piece of scaled saltfish worth a drachma  
for two obols<sup>87</sup>. We couldn't finish it  
if we ate non-stop for three days—or 12;  
because it's enormous.

Ulpian looked at Plutarch and said in response: It seems, sir, that none of these authors mentioned the Mendesian fish you Alexandrians enjoy, which not even a mad dog

<sup>87</sup> = one-third of a drachma.

<sup>88</sup> For Egyptian half-fresh, see 3.121b–c. The Egyptian sheatfish is included in what Athenaeus identifies as a list of Nile fish in Archipp. fr. 26 (quoted at 7.312a).

- 119 καλῶν σου ἡμινήρων ἢ τῶν ταριχηρῶν σιλούρων. καὶ  
 ὁ Πλούταρχος, ὁ μὲν ἡμίνηρος, ἢ ἔφη, τί διαφέρει τοῦ  
 προκαταλελεγμένου ἡμιταρίχου, <οὔ> ὁ καλὸς ὑμῶν  
 Ἀρχέστρατος μέμνηται; ἀλλ' ὅμως ὠνόμασεν ἡμίνη-  
 ρον ὁ Πάφιος Σώπατρος ἐν Μυστάκου Θητείῳ οὕτως·

ἐδέξατ' ἀντακαῖον, ὃν τρέφει μέγας  
 Ἴστρος Σκύθαισιν ἡμίνηρον ἡδονήν.

καὶ τὸν Μενδήσιον οὕτως ὁ αὐτὸς καταλέγει·

Μενδήσιός θ' ὠραῖος ἀκρόπαστος εὖ,  
 ξανθαῖσιν ὀπτὸς κέφαλος ἀκτίσιν πυρός.

- b ταῦτα δὲ τὰ βρώματα ὅτι πολλῶ ἡδίῳ ἐστὶ τῶν | παρὰ  
 σοὶ περισπουδάστων κόττα καὶ λέπιδι, οἱ πειραθέντες  
 ἴσασι. λέγε οὖν ἡμῖν καὶ σὺ εἰ καὶ ἀρσενικῶς ὁ  
 τάριχος λέγεται παρ' Ἀττικοῖς· παρὰ γὰρ Ἐπιχάρμῳ  
 οἶδαμεν. ὃν ζητοῦντα προφθάσας ὁ Μυρτίλος ἔφη·  
 Κρατῖνος μὲν ἐν Διονυσαλεξάνδρῳ·

ἐν σαργάναις ἄξω ταρίχους Ποντικούς.

Πλάτων Διὶ Κακουμένῳ·

ὥσθ' ἄττ' ἔχω ταῦτ' ἐς ταρίχους ἀπολέσω.

<sup>89</sup> Quoted at 3.117a.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. 9.385a, where the words appear in the form *kottana* and *lepidin* and are compared somehow to oil-and-vinegar sauce.

<sup>91</sup> I.e. rather than in the more common neuter form. In the passages from Cratinus and Sophocles cited below, the word

### BOOK III

would care to taste, or your delicious half-fresh fish or your preserved Egyptian sheatfish<sup>88</sup>. And Plutarch said: How is half-fresh fish different from the half-salted fish referred to earlier, which your fine Archestratus (fr. 39.7 Olson–Sens = *SH* 169.7)<sup>89</sup> mentions? Be that as it may, Sopater of Paphos used the word “half-fresh” in *Mustakos’ Wage* (fr. 11), as follows:

He received a sturgeon, which the mighty Danube  
nourishes as a half-fresh pleasure for Scythians.

The same author (fr. 22) mentions Mendesian fish, as follows:

and a peak-season Mendesian, lightly and carefully  
salted,  
(and) a mullet roasted with the yellow rays of fire.

That these foods are much more delicious than the *kotta* and *lepidi* so eagerly sought after in your country<sup>90</sup>, those who have tried them know. Tell us, then, whether the word “saltfish” is also used in the masculine by Attic authors;<sup>91</sup> for we know that it appears in Epicharmus (fr. 159).<sup>92</sup> He was pondering the question, but before he could speak, Myrtilus said: Cratinus in *Dionysalexandros* (fr. 44):

I’ll bring Pontic saltfish (masc.) in baskets.

Plato in *Zeus Abused* (fr. 49):

so that I’d lose everything I have on saltfish (masc.).

could be emended to neuter, and the fragment of Hermippus is problematic in any case. But the masculine is metrically guaranteed in the other fragments. <sup>92</sup> Cf. 3.119d.

c Ἀριστοφάνης Δαιταλεῦσιν·<sup>1</sup>

οὐκ αἰσχυνοῦμαι τὸν τάριχον τουτονὶ  
πλύνων ἅπασιν ὅσα σύνοιδ' αὐτῷ κακά.

Κράτης Θηρίοις·

καὶ τῶν ραφάνων ἔψειν χρή,  
ἰχθῦς τ' ὀπτᾶν τούς τε ταρίχους, ἡμῶν δ' ἀπὸ  
χείρας ἔχεσθαι.

ἰδίως δ' ἐσχημάτισται παρ' Ἑρμίππῳ ἐν Ἀρτοπώλῳ·

< . . . > καὶ τάριχος πίονα.

Σοφοκλῆς τ' ἐν Φινεί·

νεκρὸς τάριχος εἰσορᾶν Αἰγύπτιος.

d ὑποκοριστικῶς δ' εἴρηκεν Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Εἰρήνῃ.<sup>7</sup>

ἀγόρασόν τι χρηστὸν εἰς ἀγρὸν ταρίχιον.

καὶ Κηφισόδωρος ἐν Ἰτί·

κρεάδιόν τι φαῦλον ἢ ταρίχιον.

Φερεκράτης ἐν Αὐτομόλοις·

ἡ γυνὴ δ' ἡμῶν ἐκάστῳ λέκιθον ἔψουσ' ἢ φακῇν

<sup>7</sup> The traditional text of Aristophanes has ἐμπολήσαντες ("after purchasing") for Athenaeus' unmetrical ἀγόρασον ("buy!").

## BOOK III

Aristophanes in *Banqueters* (fr. 207):

I won't be ashamed to wash<sup>93</sup> this saltfish (masc.)  
with all the bad deeds I know it's guilty of.

Crates in *Wild Beasts* (fr. 19):

You should stew some cabbages,  
and roast fish and saltfish (masc.)—and keep your  
hands off us!

The word appears in an unusual form in Hermippus' *Female Breadsellers* (fr. 10):<sup>94</sup>

and fatty saltfish.

Sophocles in *Phineus* (fr. 712):

seemingly as dead as Egyptian saltfish<sup>95</sup> (masc.).

Aristophanes uses it in the diminutive in *Peace* (563):

Buy a little piece of good saltfish to take into the country!

Also Cephisodorus in *The Pig* (fr. 8):

a nasty little chunk of meat or a little piece of saltfish.

Pherecrates in *Deserters* (fr. 26):

Our wife is waiting for each of us, making us some  
pea soup

<sup>93</sup> The verb also has the colloquial sense “abuse, reproach,” which the second verse plays on.

<sup>94</sup> The noun is neuter, but the adjective is masculine; probably intended as a solecism.

<sup>95</sup> In fact, the word probably means “mummy” here.



## ATHENAEUS

ἀναμένει καὶ σμικρὸν ὀπτῶσ' ὀρφανὸν ταρίχιον.

καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἀρσενικῶς εἴρηκεν ὁ τάριχος. Ἡρό-  
δοτος δ' ἐν ἐνάτῃ οὕτως· οἱ τάριχοι ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ  
e κείμενοι ἐπάλλοντο καὶ ἥσπαιρον. καὶ αἱ | παροιμῖαι  
δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἄρρεν λέγουσι·

τάριχος ὀπτὸς εὐθὺς ἂν ἴδῃ τὸ πῦρ.  
σαπρὸς τάριχος τὴν ὀρίγανον φιλεῖ.  
οὐκ ἂν πάθοι τάριχος ὧνπερ ἄξιος.

Ἀττικοὶ δὲ οὐδετέρως λέγουσι, καὶ γίνεται ἡ γενικὴ  
τοῦ ταρίχους. Χιωνίδης Πτωχοῖς·

ἄρ' ἂν φάγοιτ' ἂν καὶ ταρίχους, ὦ θεοί;

καὶ ἐπὶ δοτικῆς·

ἐπὶ τῷ ταρίχει τῷδε τοίνυν κόπτετον.

ἡ δὲ δοτικὴ ταρίχει ὡς ξίφει. Μένανδρος Ἐπιτρέπου-  
f σιν | <καὶ ἐπὶ αἰτιατικῆς><sup>8</sup>

ἐπέπασα < . . . >

ἐπὶ τὸ τάριχος ἄλας, ἐὰν οὕτω τύχῃ.

ὅτε δὲ ἀρσενικόν ἐστιν, ἡ γενικὴ οὐκέτι ἔξει τὸ ὄ.  
τοσαύτην δ' Ἀθηναῖοι σπουδὴν ἐποιοῦντο περὶ τὸ  
τάριχος ὡς καὶ πολίτας ἀναγράψαι τοὺς Χαιρεφίλου

<sup>8</sup> add. Schweighäuser

### BOOK III

or lentil soup, and roasting a tiny little piece of orphan saltfish.

Epicharmus (fr. 159) too uses the word “saltfish” in the masculine. Herodotus in Book IX (120.1), as follows: The saltfish lying on the fire began to leap about and struggle. The proverbs as well have the word in the masculine:<sup>96</sup>

Saltfish is roasted as soon as it sees the fire.  
Rotten saltfish likes marjoram.<sup>97</sup>  
Saltfish would not suffer what it deserves.

But Attic authors use it in the neuter, and the genitive is *tarichous*. Chionides in *Beggars* (fr. 5):

Wouldn't you eat some saltfish (*tarichous*), gods?

Also in the dative (Chionid. fr. \*6):

Well, the two of them gnawed at this saltfish  
(*tarichei*).

The dative is *tarichei*, like *xiphei*<sup>98</sup>. Menander in *Men at Arbitration* also used it in the accusative (fr. 5 K–T):

If this is how it is,  
I sprinkled . . . salt on saltfish (*tarichos*).

When the word is masculine, the genitive no longer has the *sigma*.<sup>99</sup> The Athenians were so serious about saltfish that they enrolled the sons of Chairephilus the saltfish-seller<sup>100</sup>

<sup>96</sup> The masculine and neuter forms of the word are identical, but in each case the noun is modified by a masculine adjective.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. 3.116e with n. <sup>98</sup> From neuter *xiphos*, “sword.”

<sup>99</sup> I.e. the form is *tarichou* rather than *tarichous*.

τοῦ ταριχοπώλου υἱούς, ὥς φησιν Ἀλεξίς ἐν Ἐπι-  
δαύρῳ οὕτως·

- 120 τοὺς Χαιρεφίλου δ' υἱεῖς Ἀθηναίους, ὅτι ||  
εἰσήγαγεν τάριχος, οὗς καὶ Τιμοκλῆς  
ἰδὼν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων δύο σκόμβρους ἔφη  
ἐν τοῖς σατύροις εἶναι.

μνημονεύει αὐτῶν καὶ Ὑπερείδης ὁ ῥήτωρ. Εὐθύνου δὲ  
τοῦ ταριχοπώλου μέμνηται Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Κουρίδι  
οὕτως·

ἐλθὼν τε πρὸς τὸν τεμαχοπώλην, περίμενε,  
παρ' οὗ φέρειν εἴωθα. καὶ οὕτω τύχη,  
Εὐθυνοσ < . . . > ἀπολογίζων αὐτόθι

- b χρηστόν τι περίμεινον, κέλευσον μὴ τεμείν. |

Φειδίππου δὲ—καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ταριχοπώλης—Ἀλεξίς  
ἐν Ἰππίσκῳ καὶ Σωράκοις·

Φείδιππος ἕτερός τις ταριχηγὸς ξένος.

Ἐσθιόντων δ' ἡμῶν τὸ τάριχος καὶ πολλῶν ὁρμὴν  
ἐχόντων ἐπὶ τὸ πιεῖν ὁ Δάφνος ἔφη ἀνατείνας τῷ  
χείρῃ· Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ταραντῖνος, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ἐν τῷ  
ἐπιγραφομένῳ Συμποσίῳ φησί· ληπτέον σύμμετρον

<sup>100</sup> PA 15187; the Pheidippus attacked in Alex. fr. 6 (quoted below, where see n.) was one of his sons. See also 8.339d–e, citing *inter alia* a fragment of Timocles' *Icarians*.

<sup>101</sup> PAA 433922.

<sup>102</sup> PA 14163.

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as citizens, according to Alexis in *Epidaurus* (fr. 77), as follows:

(. . . made) the sons of Chairephilus Athenians,  
because  
he imported saltfish. When Timocles  
saw them on their horses, he said that two mackerels  
were among the satyrs.

Hyperides the orator (fr. 183 Jensen) also mentions them. Antiphanes refers to Euthynus the saltfish-seller<sup>101</sup> in *The Barber* (fr. 126), as follows:

Go to the fellow who sells fish-steaks, the one from  
whom I  
normally make my purchases, and wait there. And if  
it works out this way,  
Euthynus . . . making some convenient excuse  
wait around there, and tell him not to cut it up.

Alexis mentions Pheidippus<sup>102</sup>—he was also a saltfish-seller—in *The Brooch*<sup>103</sup> (fr. 6) and *Storage Boxes* (fr. 221):

another fellow, Pheidippus the foreign saltfish-  
importer.

As we were eating the saltfish and many of us were growing eager to have a drink, Daphnis stretched out his hands<sup>104</sup> and said: Heracleides of Tarentum, my friends, says in his work entitled *The Symposium* (fr. 69 Guar-

<sup>103</sup> Athenaeus occasionally refers to the play elsewhere as *Agonis* (a courtesan's name) or *The Brooch* (8.339c; 15.678e).

<sup>104</sup> Here apparently a gesture intended to keep the rest of the guests from doing anything until Daphnis had his say.

τροφήν πρὸ τοῦ πίνειν καὶ μάλιστα τὰς εἰθισμένας  
 c προπαρατίθεσθαι | περιφοράς. ἐκ διαστήματος γὰρ  
 εἰσφερομένας ἐναλλάττειν τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου προσ-  
 καθίζοντα τῷ στομάχῳ καὶ δηγμῶν αἷτια καθιστά-  
 μενα. οἴονται δέ τινες ταῦτ' εἶναι καὶ κακοστόμαχα—  
 λέγω δὴ λαχάνων καὶ ταρίχων γένη—δηκτικόν τι  
 κεκτημένα, εὐθετεῖν δὲ τὰ κολλώδη καὶ ἐπιστύφοντα  
 βρώματα, ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι πολλὰ τῶν τὰς ἐκκρίσεις  
 ποιούντων εὐλύτους ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων εὐστόμαχα καθ-  
 ἔστηκεν· ἐν οἷς ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ σίσαρον καλούμενον (οὗ  
 d μνημονεύει Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Ἀγρωστίνῳ, | ἐν Γῇ καὶ  
 Θαλάσσει, καὶ Διοκλῆς ἐν πρώτῳ Ὑγιεινῶν), ἀσπάρα-  
 γος, τεῦτλον τὸ λευκόν (τὸ γὰρ μέλαν καθεκτικόν  
 ἐστὶν ἐκκρίσεων), κόγχαι, σωλήνες, μύες θαλάττιοι,  
 χῆμαι, κτένες, τάριχος τέλειος καὶ μὴ βρομώδης, καὶ  
 ἰχθύων εὐχύλων γένη. προπαρατίθεσθαι δ' ἐστὶν ὠφέ-  
 λιμον τὴν λεγομένην φυλλίδα καὶ τευτλίον, ἔτι δὲ  
 τάριχος, εἰς τὰς ὁρμὰς εἰς ταῦτα < . . . > μὴ ὁμοίως  
 τῶν πολυτρόφων ἀπολαύειν. τὰς δὲ ἀθρόους ἐν ἀρχῇ  
 πόσεις ἐκκλιτέον· δύσκλητοι † γὰρ εἰς τὴν πλείονα  
 τῶν ὑγρῶν προσφοράν. Μακεδόνες δ', ὥς φησιν  
 e Ἐφιππος | ὁ Ὀλύνθιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνος Ταφῆς, οὐκ ἠπίσταντο πίνειν εὐ-  
 τάκτως, ἀλλ' εὐθέως ἐχρῶντο μεγάλαις προπόσεσιν,  
 ὥστε μεθύειν ἔτι παρακειμένων τῶν πρώτων τραπεζῶν

<sup>105</sup> Hephaestion (Berve i #357) was one of Alexander the

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dasole): You should consume a moderate amount of food before drinking, especially the items commonly served before the symposium begins. For when such foods are introduced only after an interval, they counteract the wine's effect, thus oppressing the stomach and causing serious pain. Some authorities believe that these foods—I am referring to the different types of vegetables and saltfish—are hard on the stomach, since they have a tendency to irritate it, and maintain that glutinous and astringent foods are more suitable. This is because they are unaware that many foods that promote easy bowel movements are, to the contrary, easy on the stomach; these include what is referred to as *sisaros* ("parsnip")—Epicharmus mentions it in *The Rustic* (fr. 3) and *Earth and Sea* (fr. 24), as does Diocles in Book I of *On Matters of Health* (fr. 198 van der Eijk)—asparagus, white beet (for the black variety hinders excretion), conchs, razor-shells, sea-mussels, clams, scallops, good saltfish that does not stink, and the types of fish that produce good *chulē*. It is helpful to serve what is referred to as *phullis* ("salad") and beets beforehand, as well as saltfish, to encourage (the guests) regarding these items . . . and similarly not to enjoy foods that are very rich. You should avoid drinking a great deal at the beginning, because † they have a bad reputation in regard to the excessive consumption of liquids. According to Ehippus of Olynthus in his *On the Burial of Alexander and Hephaestion*<sup>105</sup> (FGrH 126 F 1), the Macedonians did not know how to drink in an orderly way, but engaged in large toasts at the very beginning; the result was that they got

Great's closest friends. He died in Ecbatana in autumn 324 BCE, less than a year before the death of Alexander himself.

καὶ μὴ δύνασθαι τῶν σιτίων ἀπολαύειν. Δίφιλος δ' ὁ Σίφνιός φησι· τὰ ταρίχη τὰ ἐκ τῶν θαλασσίων καὶ λιμναίων καὶ ποταμίων γινόμενά ἐστιν ὀλιγότροφα, ὀλιγόχυλα, καυσώδη, εὐκοίλια, ἐρεθιστικὰ ὀρέξεως. κράτιστα δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀπιόνων κύβια καὶ ὠραῖα καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια γένη, τῶν δὲ πιόνων τὰ θύννεια καὶ  
 f κορδύλεια. | τὰ δὲ παλαιὰ κρείσσονα καὶ δριμύτερα καὶ μάλιστα τὰ Βυζάντια. τὸ δὲ θύννειον, φησί, γίνεται ἐκ τῆς μείζονος πηλαμύδος, ὧν τὸ μικρὸν ἀναλογεῖ τῷ κυβίῳ, ἐξ οὗ γένους ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ὠραῖον. ἡ δὲ  
 121 σάρδα προσέοικε τῷ κολίᾳ μεγέθει. || ὁ δὲ σκόμβρος κούφως καὶ ταχέως ἀποχωρῶν τοῦ στομάχου. ὁ κολίας δὲ σκιλλωδέστερος, δηκτικώτερος καὶ κακοχυλότερος, τρόφιμος· κρείστων δὲ ὁ Ἀμυνκλανὸς καὶ Σπανὸς ὁ Σαξιτανὸς λεγόμενος· λεπτότερος γὰρ καὶ γλυκύτερος. Στράβων δ' ἐν τρίτῳ Γεωγραφικῶν πρὸς ταῖς Ἡρακλέους φησὶ νήσοις κατὰ Καρχηδόνα τὴν καινὴν πόλιν εἶναι Σεξιτανίαν, ἐξ ἧς καὶ τὰ ταρίχη ἐπωνύμως λέγεσθαι, καὶ ἄλλην Σκομβροαρίαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλισκο-  
 b μένων σκόμβρων, ἐξ ὧν τὸ ἄριστον σκευάζεσθαι | γάρον. οἱ δὲ λεγόμενοι μελανδρύαι, ὧν καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος μνημονεύει ἐν Αὐτομόλῳ Ὀδυσσεῖ οὕτως·

<sup>106</sup> I.e. the dinner tables, as opposed to the "second tables," on which the symposium food was served.

<sup>107</sup> New Carthage was located near the extreme southern end of the eastern coast of what is today Spain. The Island of Heracles

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drunk while the first tables<sup>106</sup> were still lying beside them, and were unable to enjoy the food. Diphilus of Siphnos says: Saltfish produced from sea-, lake- and river-creatures does not contain much nutrition or produce much *chulē*, generates heat, is easy on the bowels, and stimulates the appetite. The best varieties of lean saltfish are cube-, *horaia* and the like, while the best varieties of fatty saltfish are made of tuna and *kordulos*. The older saltfish is, the better and more pungent it becomes, especially Byzantine saltfish. He claims that tuna-saltfish is made from the larger variety of *pēlamus*, while the small *pēlamus* is suited for cube-saltfish; this type is also used to make *horaion*. The *sarda* is the same size as the Spanish mackerel. The mackerel moves lightly and rapidly out of the stomach. The Spanish mackerel has a more squill-like taste, is more pungent, produces worse *chulē*, and is nourishing. The best varieties are the Amynclanian and the Spanish type called Saxitanian, because they are lighter and sweeter. Strabo in Book III (156) of his *Geography* says that Sexitania, from which the saltfish gets its name, is near the Islands of Heracles opposite New Carthage<sup>107</sup>; he adds (III.159) that there is another city, called Scombroaria from the mackerel (*skombroi*) caught there, from which the best *garum*<sup>108</sup> is made. The so-called *melandruai*, which Epicharmus mentions in *Odysseus the Deserter* (fr. 101), as follows:

(also known as Scombroaria; Athenaeus or his source has garbled the geographical details) lay in front of the bay that formed the city's harbor.

<sup>108</sup> Fermented fish-sauce.



ποτιφόριμον τὸ τέμαχος ἥς,  
ὑπομελανδρυνῶδες.

μέλανδρυν δὲ τῶν μεγίστων θύννων εἶδός ἐστιν, ὡς Πάμφιλος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Ὀνομάτων παρίστησι, καὶ ἐστὶ τὰ τεμάχη αὐτοῦ λιπαρώτερα. τὸ δὲ ὠμοτάριχον, φησὶν ὁ Δίφιλος, † κητεμε † τινὲς λέγουσι, καὶ ἐστὶ βαρὺ καὶ γλοιῶδες, προσέτι δὲ καὶ δύσπεπτον. ὁ δὲ ποτάμιος κορακῖνος, ὃν πέλτην τινὲς καλοῦσιν, ὁ ἀπὸ  
c τοῦ Νείλου, ὃν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν | ἰδίως ἡμίνηρον ὀνομάζουσιν, ὑποπίμελος μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ ἥκιστα κακόχυλος, σαρκώδης, τρόφιμος, εὖπεπτος, εὐανάδοτος, κατὰ πάντα τοῦ μύλλου κρείσσων. τὰ μέντοι τῶν ἰχθύων καὶ τῶν ταρίχων ὥς πάντα δύσπεπτα, δύσφθαρτα, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ τῶν λιπαρωτέρων καὶ μειζόνων· σκληρότερα γὰρ μένει καὶ ἀδιαίρετα. γίνεται δὲ εὐστόμαχα μετὰ ἀλῶν σβεσθέντα καὶ ἐποπτηθέντα. πάντας δὲ χρὴ τοὺς ταρίχους πλύνειν, ἄχρι ἂν τὸ ὕδωρ ἄνοσμον καὶ γλυκὺ γένηται. ὁ δ' ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐψόμενος τάριχος | γλυκύτερος γίνεται, θερμοὶ τε  
d οἱ τάριχοι ἡδιονές εἰσιν. Μνησίθεος δ' ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἐδεστών, οἱ ἀλυκοί, φησὶν, καὶ γλυκεῖς χυμοὶ πάντες ὑπάγουσι τὰς κοιλίας, οἱ δ' ὀξεῖς καὶ δριμεῖς λύουσι τὴν οὕρησιν, οἱ δὲ πικροὶ μᾶλλον μὲν εἰσιν οὕρητικοί, λύουσι δ' αὐτῶν ἔνιοι καὶ τὰς κοιλίας· οἱ δὲ στρυφνοὶ < . . . > τὰς ἐκκρίσεις. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ὁ μουσικώτατος ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ἰέρωνι ἢ Τυραν-

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The fish-steak was suitable,  
rather like *melandrus*.

A *melandrus* is one of the largest kinds of tuna, as Pamphilus shows in his *On Names* (fr. XXII Schmidt), and the steaks cut from it are oilier. According to Diphilus, some authorities refer to raw-saltfish as † *kēteme*<sup>109</sup> †, and it is heavy and glutinous, as well as difficult to digest. The river-*korakinos* caught in the Nile, which some authorities refer to as a *peltē*, and for which the inhabitants of Alexandria use the local term “half-fresh,”<sup>110</sup> is rather fatty, produces a minimal amount of bad *chulē*, and is meaty, nourishing, easily digested and assimilated, and better than the mullet in every respect. All fish eggs, however, including those in saltfish, are difficult to digest and dissolve, especially those from fatter and larger fish, because they remain harder and unseparated. But they become easy on the stomach if they are plunged into salt and then roasted. All saltfish needs to be rinsed until the water has no smell and no taste of salt. Saltfish stewed in sea-water is sweeter; and it tastes better warm. Mnesitheus of Athens says in his *On Edible Substances* (fr. 22 Bertier): All salty and sweet juices<sup>111</sup> set the bowels in motion; sharp and pungent juices stimulate urination; and some bitter juices are more diuretic, while others also loosen the bowels. But astringent juices . . . excretions. The refined Xenophon in his work entitled *Hieron or The Tyrant's Life* (1.22–3) condemns foods of

<sup>109</sup> Corrupt; whatever the word is, it may well be cognate with *kētos* (“large fish”), which the zoologist Sostratus at 7.303b–c (cf. Archestr. fr. 35.3 Olson–Sens, quoted at 7.301f) says was a name for an extremely large tuna.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. 3.118f.

<sup>111</sup> Or “humours.”

- νικῶ διαβάλλων τὰ τοιαῦτα βρώματά φησι “τί γάρ”,  
 e ἔφη ὁ Ἰέρων, “τὰ πολλὰ ταῦτα μηχανήματα | κατανε-  
 νοήκατε ἃ παρατίθεται τοῖς τυράννοις, ὀξέα καὶ δρι-  
 μέα καὶ στρυφνὰ καὶ τὰ τούτων ἀδελφά;” “πάνυ μὲν  
 οὖν”, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, καὶ πάνυ γέ μοι δοκοῦντα  
 παρὰ φύσιν εἶναι ταῦτα ἀνθρώπων.” ἄλλο τι οἶει, “ἔφη  
 ὁ Ἰέρων, ταῦτα ἐδέσματα εἶναι ἢ μὴ διὰ κακῆς καὶ  
 ἀσθενούσης ψυχῆς ἐπιθυμήματα; ἐπεὶ οἱ γε ἡδέως  
 ἐσθίοντες καὶ σύ που οἶσθα ὅτι οὐδὲν προσδέονται  
 τούτων τῶν σοφισμάτων.” ἐπὶ τούτοις λεχθεῖσιν ὁ  
 Κύνουλκος πιεῖν ᾗτησε δηκόκταν, δεῖν λέγων ἀλμυ-  
 f ροὺς λόγους γλυκέσιν | ἀποκλύζεσθαι νάμασι. πρὸς  
 ὃν ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς σχετλιάσας καὶ τύψας τῇ χειρὶ τὸ  
 προσκεφάλαιον ἔφη· μέχρι πότε βαρβαρίζοντες οὐ  
 παύσεσθε; ἢ ἕως ἂν καταλιπὼν τὸ συμπόσιον οἴχω-  
 μαι, πέττειν ὑμῶν τοὺς λόγους οὐ δυνάμενος; καὶ ὅς·  
 ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῇ βασιλευούσῃ διατρίβων τὰ νῦν, ὦ λῶστε,  
 ἐπιχωρίῳ κέχρημαι κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν φωνῇ. καὶ  
 γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ποιηταῖς καὶ συγγραφεῦσι  
 122 τοῖς σφόδρα ἐλληνίζουσιν ἔστιν εὐρεῖν καὶ Περσικὰ ||  
 ὀνόματα κείμενα διὰ τὴν τῆς χρήσεως συνήθειαν, ὥς  
 τοὺς παρασάγγας καὶ τοὺς ἀστράνδας ἢ ἀγγάρους  
 καὶ τὴν σχοῖνον ἢ τὸν σχοῖνον· μέτρον δ’ ἐστὶ τοῦτο

<sup>112</sup> A Latin word (sc. *aqua*), hence Ulpian's angry response, for water that had been “boiled down” (*decoquo*) and then suddenly chilled. <sup>113</sup> Cf. Pl. *Phdr.* 243d. <sup>114</sup> Cf. 3.98c n.

### BOOK III

this sort, saying: Well then, said Hieron, have you noticed all these concoctions served to tyrants: acidic sauces, bitter sauces, astringent sauces, and their cousins? Certainly, said Simonides; they seem to me to be utterly unnatural for a human being. Hieron said: Do you think that these foods represent anything other than the cravings of a sick, ugly soul? For I imagine that you are aware that people who enjoy eating have no need for fancy items like these. In response to these remarks, Cynulcus asked to drink some *decocta*<sup>112</sup>, saying that he needed to wash salty words out of his ears with sweet streams.<sup>113</sup> Ulpian became indignant with him, pounded his pillow with his fist, and said: How long are you going to continue using barbarisms? Until I leave the symposium and go home, unable to stomach your words? And he said: Since I am currently spending my time in the imperial city of Rome, my very good sir, I have grown accustomed to using the local language. For even in the ancient poets and prose-authors who write the purest Greek one can find Persian words that appear because they are in common usage, such as “parasangs”<sup>114</sup>, *astandai* or *angaroi*<sup>115</sup>, and *schoinos*, whether masculine or feminine; the latter is a measure of distance, which is referred to in this way by many people even today.<sup>116</sup> I am also

<sup>115</sup> Two different words for couriers who travelled along the Persian royal road; but the text is conjectural.

<sup>116</sup> A *schoinos* (literally “rope”) was apparently in origin an Egyptian unit, which according to Hdt. 2.6.3 was equal to 60 stades or 2 parasangs. The word itself is neither Persian nor Egyptian; but Callimachus (fr. 1.18) also refers to a “Persian *schoinos*,” and the crucial point for the average Greek-speaker was probably that the unit was associated with the barbarian East, a fact that confused the etymological issue.

όδοῦ μέχρι νῦν οὕτως παρὰ πολλοῖς καλούμενον.  
μακεδονίζοντάς τ' οἶδα πολλοὺς τῶν Ἀττικῶν διὰ τὴν  
ἐπιμιξίαν. βέλτιον δ' ἦν μοι

αἶμα ταύρειον πιεῖν,  
ὁ Θεμιστοκλέους γὰρ θάνατος αἰρετώτερος,

ἢ εἰς σὲ ἐμπεσεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἴποιμι Ταύρειον ὕδωρ  
πιεῖν, ὅπερ σὺ οὐκ οἶσθα τί ἐστίν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπίστασαι  
b ὅτι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν | ποιητῶν καὶ συγγρα-  
φέων εἴρηταί τινα καὶ φαῦλα. Κηφισόδωρος γοῦν ὁ  
Ἰσοκράτους τοῦ ῥήτορος μαθητῆς ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν  
Πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλην λέγει ὅτι εὖροι τις ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν  
ἄλλων ποιητῶν ἢ καὶ σοφιστῶν ἐν ἧ δύο γοῦν ποιη-  
ρῶς εἰρημένα, οἷα παρὰ μὲν Ἀρχιλόχῳ τὸ πάντ' ἄνδρ'  
ἀποσκολύπτειν, Θεοδώρῳ δὲ τὸ κελεύειν μὲν πλέον  
ἔχειν, ἐπαινεῖν δὲ τὸ ἴσον, Εὐριπίδῃ τε τὸ τὴν γλῶτταν  
ὁμωμοκέναι φάναι καὶ Σοφοκλεῖ τὸ ἐν Αἰθίοψιν εἰρη-  
c μένον· |

τοιαῦτά τοί σοι πρὸς χάριν τε κοῦ βία  
λέγω. σὺ δ' αὐτός, ὥσπερ οἱ σοφοί, τὰ μὲν  
δίκαι' ἐπαίνει, τοῦ δὲ κερδαίνειν ἔχου.

καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ δ' ὁ αὐτὸς ἔφη μηδὲν εἶναι ῥῆμα σὺν  
κέρδει κακόν· Ὀμήρῳ δὲ τὸ τὴν Ἥραν ἐπιβουλεύσαι

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117 The Athenian general and statesman Themistocles (PAA 502610; c.525–459 BCE) was said to have committed suicide by drinking bull's blood rather than fulfil a promise to help subject

### BOOK III

aware that many Attic authors use Macedonian vocabulary because of their dealings with this people. It would be better for me (Ar. *Eq.* 83–4)

to drink bull's (*taureion*) blood,  
because Themistocles' death<sup>117</sup> is preferable

to getting entangled with you. (I would not say "to drink Taureian water," since you have no idea what this is.)<sup>118</sup> For you do not realize that some unelevated remarks are made by even the best poets and prose-authors. Cephisodorus the student of the orator Isocrates, for example, says in Book III of his *Reply to Aristotle* (fr. 5 Radermacher) that one can find at least one or two vulgar remarks made by the other poets and philosophers, such as the phrase "to remove every man's skin"<sup>119</sup> in Archilochus (fr. 39 West<sup>2</sup>, unmetrical), and "to encourage the accumulation of wealth, but praise equality" in Theodorus (*SH* 754, unmetrical); or having someone say "my tongue has sworn an oath"<sup>120</sup> in Euripides (*Hipp.* 612); or what Sophocles says in *Ethiopians* (fr. 28):

I am making these remarks to you to please you  
and not because I must. But as for you yourself, do  
what wise people do,  
and praise what is right but cling to making a profit!

And elsewhere (*El.* 61) the same author said that no speech made with profit in mind is bad. Likewise Hera's

Greece to the authority of the Persian king (*D.S.* 11.58.2–3). Cf. 1.29f–30a with n. <sup>118</sup> See 3.122e–f. <sup>119</sup> I.e. "to give every man an erection"? <sup>120</sup> Sc. "but my mind has not." A notorious verse; cf. Ar. *Th.* 275–6 with Austin–Olson ad loc.



τῷ Διὶ καὶ τὸν Ἄρη μοιχεύειν· ἐφ' οἷς πάντες κατηγο-  
 ροῦσιν αὐτῶν. εἰ οὖν καὶ γὰρ τι ἤμαρτον, ὦ καλλίστων  
 ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων θηρευτά, μὴ χαλέπαινε. κατὰ  
 d γὰρ τὸν Μιλήσιον Τιμόθεον τὸν ποιητὴν· |

οὐκ αἰίδω τὰ παλαιά,  
 τὰ γὰρ ἀμὰ κρείσσω·  
 νέος ὁ Ζεὺς βασιλεύει,  
 τὸ πάλαι δ' ἦν Κρόνος ἄρχων·  
 ἀπίτω Μοῦσα παλαιά.

Ἀντιφάνης τ' ἐν Ἀλκήστιδι ἔφη·

ἐπὶ τὸ καινουργεῖν φέρου,  
 οὕτως, ἐκείνως, τοῦτο γινώσκων ὅτι  
 ἐν καινὸν ἐγχείρημα, καὶ τολμηρὸν ἦ,  
 e πολλῶν παλαιῶν ἐστι χρησιμώτερον. |

ὅτι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι οἶδασι τὸ οὕτω λεγόμενον ὕδωρ,  
 ἵνα μὴ πάλιν ἀγανακτήσης δηκόκταν μου λέγοντος,  
 δείξω. κατὰ γὰρ Φερεκράτους Ψευδηρακλέα·

εἴποι τις ἂν τῶν πάντων δοκησιδεξίων.  
 ἐγὼ δ' ἂν ἀντείποιμι μὴ πολυπραγμόνει,  
 ἀλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ σοι, πρόσεχε τὸν νοῦν κακροῶ.

ἀλλὰ μὴ φθονήσης, ἔφη ὁ Οὐλπιανός, δέομαι, μηδὲ  
 τοῦ Ταυρείου ὕδατος ὁποῖόν ἐστι δηλῶσαι· τῶν γὰρ  
 f τοιούτων<sup>9</sup> ἐγὼ διψῶ. καὶ ὁ Κύνουλκος, | ἀλλὰ προπίνω

<sup>9</sup> τοιούτων φωνῶν A

### BOOK III

plotting against Zeus in Homer (*Il.* 14.159ff) and Ares' illicit love-affair (*Od.* 8.266ff). And everyone condemns them for these passages. So if I made a mistake, O mighty hunter of the loveliest words and phrases, do not be angry with me. For to quote the Milesian poet Timotheus (*PMG* 796):

I do not sing the old songs,  
for mine are better.  
A new Zeus is king;  
Cronus was in power long ago.  
Away with the ancient Muse!

And Antiphanes said in *Alcestis* (fr. 30):

Aim to do something new  
in one way or another; and recognize that  
a single novel undertaking, even if too bold,  
is more useful than many old ones.

I intend to prove that the ancients know of water referred to this way (I am trying to prevent your being annoyed with me again for saying "*decocta*"). For to quote Pherecrates' *Fake Heracles* (fr. 163):

. . . one of these apparently very clever people might  
say.  
And I would respond: Don't make trouble,  
but if you're willing, pay attention and listen.

Ulpian said: Please—don't begrudge us a clarification as to what Taureian water is;<sup>121</sup> for I am thirsty for information like this. And Cynulcus said: Then I drink your health, and

<sup>121</sup> Cf. 3.122a.



σοι, ἔφη, φιλοτησίαν (δυψᾶς γὰρ λόγων) παρ' Ἀλέξι-  
δος λαβὼν ἐκ Πυθαγοριζούσης·

ὔδατος ἀπέφθον κύαθον· ἂν δ' ὠμὸν πίη,  
βαρὺ καὶ κοπῶδες.

123 τὸ δὲ Ταύρειον ὕδωρ ὠνόμασεν, ὃ φίλε, Σοφοκλῆς  
Αἰγεί ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ Τροιζῆνα ποταμοῦ Ταύρου, παρ' ᾧ  
καὶ κρήνη τις || Ὑόεσσα καλεῖται. ἐπίστανται δ' οἱ  
παλαιοὶ καὶ τὸ πάννυ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ ἐν ταῖς προπόσε-  
σιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐρῶ, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ σύ με διδάξης εἰ ἔπινον  
θερμὸν ὕδωρ ἐν ταῖς εὐωχίαις οἱ ἀρχαῖοι. εἰ γὰρ οἱ  
κρατῆρες ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος τῆς ὀνομασίας ἔτυ-  
χον οὗτοί τε κερασθέντες παρέκειντο πλήρεις, οὐ ζέον  
τὸ ποτὸν παρείχον, λεβήτων τρόπον ὑποκαιόμενοι. ὅτι  
γὰρ οἶδασι θερμὸν ὕδωρ Εὐπολις μὲν ἐν Δήμοις  
παρίστησι·

τὸ χαλκίον  
b θέρμαινέ θ' ἡμῖν καὶ θύη πέττειν τινὰ  
κέλευ', ἵνα σπλάγχνοισι | συγγενώμεθα.

Ἀντιφάνης δ' ἐν Ὀμφάλῃ·

ἐν χύτρᾳ δέ μοι  
ὅπως ὕδωρ ἔψοντα μηδέν' ὄψομαι.

<sup>122</sup> Viz. that something was mixed (*kerannumi*) in them, as what follows makes clear, although Cynulcus seems to be arguing that what was mixed in a mixing-bowl was not wine and water but

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(because you are thirsty for words) I have borrowed the cup of friendship I do it with from Alexis' *The Female Pythagorean* (fr. 202):

a ladleful of boiled water; but if one drinks it raw,  
it's heavy and debilitating.

As for Taureian water, my friend, Sophocles in *Aegeus* (fr. 19) derived the name from the Taurus river near Troezen, beside which is a spring called Hyoessa. The ancients also know of the use of very cold water in their toasts; but I am not going to tell you about this, unless you inform me as to whether the ancients drank warm water at their feasts. For if their mixing bowls (*kratēres*) got their name from the circumstances,<sup>122</sup> and if, after they were mixed up, they were set down beside them full, they did not serve their drinks boiling hot by lighting a fire under the mixing-bowls, as one does with cauldrons. For Eupolis in *Demes* (fr. 99.41–3) establishes that they are familiar with warm water:

Warm up  
the bronze pot for us and tell someone to bake  
sacrificial cakes, so that we can associate with<sup>123</sup>  
entrails.

Antiphanes in *Omphale* (fr. 175):

I don't want to see  
anyone boiling water in a cookpot for me;

hot and cold substances (as in a bathtub), so that whatever was served must have been lukewarm at best.

<sup>123</sup> I.e. in context "eat."

οὐ γὰρ κακὸν ἔχω μηδ' ἔχοιμ'. εἰ δ' ἄρα  
στρέφῃ με περὶ τὴν γαστέρ' ἢ τὸν ὀμφαλόν,  
παρὰ Φερτάτου δακτύλιός ἐστί μοι δραχμῆς.

ἐν δ' Ἀλειπτρία—φέρεται τὸ δράμα καὶ ὡς Ἀλέ-  
ξιδος—.

- c εἰ δὲ τοῦργαστήριον ποιῆτε περιβόητον, |  
κατασκευῶ, νῆ τὴν φίλην Δήμητρα, τὴν  
μεγίστην  
ἀρύταιναν ὑμῶν ἐκ μέσου βάψασα τοῦ λέβητος  
ζέοντος ὕδατος· εἰ δὲ <μή>, μηδέποθ' ὕδωρ πίοιμι  
ἐλευθέριον.

- Πλάτων δ' ἐν τετάρτῳ Πολιτείας· ἐπιθυμία <ἂν> ἐν τῇ  
ψυχῇ εἴη; οἷον δίψα ἐστὶ δίψα ἅρα γε θερμοῦ ποτοῦ ἢ  
ψυχροῦ <ἢ πολλοῦ ἢ> ὀλίγου ἢ καὶ ἐνὶ λόγῳ ποιοῦ  
τινος πώματος; ἢ εἰ μὲν τις θερμότης τῷ δίψει  
προσῇ, τὴν τοῦ θερμοῦ ἐπιθυμίαν προσπαρέχοιτ' ἂν,  
εἰ δὲ ψυχρότης, τὴν τοῦ ψυχροῦ, εἰ δὲ διὰ πλῆθους  
d παρουσίαν | πολλὴ ἢ δίψα ἦ, τὴν τοῦ πολλοῦ παρέξε-  
ται, εἰ δὲ ὀλίγη, τὴν τοῦ ὀλίγου; αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ διψῆν οὐ  
μή ποτε ἄλλου γένηται ἐπιθυμία ἢ οὐπὲρ πέφυκεν,  
αὐτοῦ πώματος, καὶ αὖ τὸ πεινῆν βρώματος; Σῆμος δὲ  
ὁ Δήλιος ἐν δευτέρῳ Νησιάδος ἐν Κιμώλῳ τῇ νήσῳ  
φησὶ ψυχεῖα κατεσκευάσθαι θέρους ὀρυκτά, ἔνθα χλι-

<sup>124</sup> The quotation is truncated at the beginning and garbled in the middle, where Plato actually claims that the presence of heat or cold produces a desire for the opposite.

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because I don't have any trouble and I don't want  
any. But if  
I develop a cramp in my stomach or my gut,  
I've got a ring from Phertatos that cost a drachma.

And in *The Female Oiler* (Antiph. fr. 26)—the play is also attributed to Alexis—:

If you make our workshop notorious,  
by our beloved Demeter, I'll dump the biggest  
ladle over you after I've filled it with boiling water  
from the middle of the cauldron. And if I don't, may I  
never drink the water  
of freedom.

Plato in Book IV of the *Republic* (437d–e):<sup>124</sup> Could there be desire in the soul? Thus, is thirst actually thirst for something warm to drink, or something cold, or for more, or less, or simply put for any particular sort of drink? Or is it the case that, if heat is associated with the thirst, it adds the desire for something warm to it, whereas if cold is associated with the thirst, it adds the desire for something cold; and if the thirst is great, because quantity is present, it will add the desire for drinking a great deal; and if the thirst is minimal, it will add the desire for only a little to drink? But the thirst itself could never be a desire for anything except that which it arises from, that is for wanting something to drink, just as hunger is a desire for food? Semus of Delos in Book II of his *History of the Island* (FGrH 396 F \*3) says that on the island of Cimolus during the summer cooling-pits are prepared, in which they deposit jars full of warm

ερού ὕδατος πλήρη κεράμια καταθέντες κομίζονται  
 χιώνος οὐδέν διάφορον. τὸ δὲ χλιαρὸν ὕδωρ Ἀθηναῖοι  
 e μετάκερας καλοῦσιν, ὡς Σώφιλος ἐν Ἀνδροκλεί. |  
 Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν Λοκροῖς·

αἱ δὲ παῖδες παρέχουν  
 ἢ μὲν τὸ θερμόν, ἢ δ' ἑτέρα <τὸ> μετάκερας.  
 καὶ Φιλήμων ἐν Κορινθία. Ἄμφις δ' ἐν Βαλανείῳ·  
 ἀνεβόησ' ὕδωρ ἐνεγκεῖν θερμόν, ἄλλος  
 μετάκερας.

Μέλλοντος δὲ τοῦ κυνικοῦ τούτοις ἐπισωρεύειν τινὰ  
 ὁ Ποντιανὸς ἔφη· οἷδασιν, ᾧ φίλτατοι ἀνδρῶν, οἱ  
 ἀρχαῖοι καὶ τὴν τοῦ πάνυ ψυχροῦ πόσιν. Ἄλεξις γοῦν  
 ἐν Παρασίτῳ φησί·

καὶ γὰρ βούλομαι  
 f ὕδατός σε γεῦσαι· πρᾶγμα δ' ἐστὶ | μοι μέγα  
 φρέατος ἔνδον ψυχρότερον Ἀραρότος.

ὀνομάζει δὲ καὶ Ἑρμιππος ἐν Κέρκωψι φρεατιαῖον  
 ὕδωρ οὕτως < . . . >. ὅτι δὲ καὶ χιόνα ἔπινον ἐν  
 Μανδραγοριζομένη ἔφη Ἄλεξις·

εἴτ' οὐ περίεργόν ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος φυτὸν  
 ὑπεναντιωτάτοις τε πλείστοις χρώμενον;

<sup>125</sup> Cf. 2.41d, where this information is attributed to Eratosthenes.

<sup>126</sup> Araros was one of Aristophanes' sons and a comic poet

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water; when they take them out they are the same temperature as snow. The Athenians refer to warm water as *metakeras*, according to Sophilus in *Androcles* (fr. 1).<sup>125</sup> Alexis in *Locrians* (fr. 141):

One of the slave-girls  
was pouring in hot water, the other one warm  
(*metakeras*) water.

Also Philemon in *The Girl from Corinth* (fr. 40). Amphis in *The Bathhouse* (fr. 7):

One man called for someone to bring him hot water,  
another called for warm (*metakeras*).

As the Cynic was about to heap some further examples on top of these, Pontianus said: The ancients, most dear sirs, are also familiar with drinking very cold water. For example, Alexis says in *The Parasite* (fr. 184):

For in fact I want  
you to taste some water; I have a remarkable  
well inside, which is more frigid than Araros.<sup>126</sup>

Hermippus also refers to well-water in *The Cercopes* (fr. 40), as follows . . . And that they drank snow is asserted by Alexis in *The Woman Who Ate Mandrake* (fr. 145):

Aren't human beings strange creatures,  
engaging in so many activities directly contradictory  
to one another?

in his own right. The charge of frigidity refers to his alleged use of overly extravagant compounds, forced puns, and the like; cf. Olson on Ar. *Ach.* 138–40.

- 124 ἐρώμεν ἀλλοτρίων, παρορώμεν συγγενεῖς. ||  
 ἔχοντες οὐδέν εὐποροῦμεν τοῖς πέλας,  
 ἐράνους φέροντες οὐ φέρομεν ἀλλ' ἢ κακῶς.  
 τὰκ τῆς τροφῆς δὲ τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν πάλιν  
 γλιχόμεθα μὲν τὴν μᾶζαν ἵνα λευκὴ παρῇ,  
 ζωμὸν δὲ ταύτῃ μέλανα μηχανώμεθα  
 τὸ καλὸν τε χρῶμα δευσοποιῶ χρώζομεν.  
 καὶ χιόνα μὲν πίνειν παρασκευάζομεν,  
 τὸ δ' ὄψον ἂν μὴ θερμὸν ᾗ, διασύρομεν.  
 καὶ τὸν μὲν ὀξὺν οἶνον ἐκπυτίζομεν,  
 b ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀβυρτάκαισι δ' ἐκβακχεύομεν. |  
 οὐκοῦν, τὸ πολλοῖς τῶν σοφῶν εἰρημένον,  
 τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι μὲν κράτιστόν ἐστ' αἰεί,  
 ἐπὰν γένηται δ', ὡς τάχιστ' ἔχειν τέλος.

Δεξικράτης δ' ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ 'Υφ' Ἐαυτῶν Πλα-  
 νώμενοίς φησιν·

εἰ δὲ μεθύω καὶ χιόνα πίνω καὶ μύρον  
 ἐπίσταμ' ὅ τι κράτιστον Αἴγυπτος ποεῖ.

Εὐθυκλῆς δ' ἐν Ἀσώτοις ἢ Ἐπιστολῇ·

πρῶτος μὲν οἶδεν εἰ χιών ἐστ' ὦνία,  
 πρῶτον δ' ἐκείνον σχαδόνα δεῖ πάντως φαγεῖν.

- c οἶδεν δὲ καὶ ὁ καλὸς Ξενοφῶν ἐν Ἀπομνημονεύμασι |  
 τὴν διὰ χιόνος πόσιν. Χάρης δ' ὁ Μιτυληναῖος ἐν ταῖς  
 Περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἱστορίαις καὶ ὅπως δεῖ χιόνα δια-  
 φυλάσσεσθαι εἴρηκε, διηγούμενος περὶ τῆς πολιορ-

### BOOK III

We fall in love with members of other households,  
but neglect our families;  
although we're poor, we seem rich to our neighbors;  
when we loan someone money, we do it clumsily.  
And as for what we eat every day,  
we're eager for our barley-cake to be white;  
but we make the broth that goes with it black,  
and we stain its lovely color with dye.  
We arrange to drink snow;  
but if our food isn't hot, we make nasty remarks  
about it.  
And we spit out sour wine,  
but get ecstatic about sour sauces.  
So, as many wise men have said,  
it's always best not to have been born,  
and once you're born, to die as quickly as possible.

Dexicrates says in the play entitled *The Self-Deceivers* (fr. 1):

If I'm drunk, and I drink snow, and I know  
that Egypt produces the best perfumed oil.

Euthycles in *Profligates or The Letter* (fr. 1):

He's the first to know if snow is for sale,  
and he absolutely has to be the first to eat  
honeycomb.

The excellent Xenophon as well shows familiarity with the use of snow in drinking in his *Memorabilia* (2.1.30). Chares of Mitylene in his *Histories of Alexander* (FGrH 125 F 16) also tells us how to preserve snow, when he de-



κίας τῆς ἐν Ἰνδοῖς πόλεως Πέτρας, ὀρύξαι φάσκων  
τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὀρύγματα τριάκοντα ψυχεῖα, ἃ πλη-  
ρώσαντα χιόνος παρεμβαλεῖν δρυὸς κλάδους· οὕτω  
γὰρ παραμένειν πλείω χρόνον τὴν χιόνα. ὅτι δὲ καὶ  
τὸν οἶνον ἔψυχον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ψυχρότερον αὐτὸν πίνειν

d Στράτις φησὶν ἐν Ψυχασταῖς· |

οἶνον γὰρ πιεῖν

οὐδ' ἂν εἷς δέξαιτο θερμόν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ  
τοῦναντίον  
ψυχόμενον ἐν τῷ φρέατι <καὶ> χιόνι μεμιγμένον.

καὶ ὁ Λύσιππος ἐν Βάκχαις·

(Α.) Ἑρμῶν. (Ερ.) τί ἔστι; (Α.) πῶς ἔχομεν; (Ερ.)  
τί δ' ἄλλο γ' ἢ  
ὁ πατήρ ἄνωθεν ἐς τὸ φρέαρ, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν,  
ὥσπερ τὸν οἶνον τοῦ θέρους καθεῖκέ με.

Δίφιλος δ' ἐν Μνηματίῳ φησὶν·

ψῦξον τὸν οἶνον, Δωρί.

e Πρωταγορίδης δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν Κωμικῶν Ἱστοριῶν |  
τὸν Ἀντιόχου τοῦ βασιλέως κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν διη-  
γούμενος πλοῦν λέγει τι καὶ περὶ ἐπιτεχνήσεως ψυ-  
χρῶν ὑδάτων ἐν τούτοις· τὴν γὰρ ἡμέραν ἡλιάζοντες  
αὐτό, ἀπηθούντες<sup>10</sup> τὸ παχύτατον τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξαι-  
θριάζουσιν ἐν ὑδρίαις κεραμέαις ἐπὶ τῶν μετεωρο-  
τάτων μερῶν τῆς οἰκήσεως, δι' ὅλης τε τῆς νυκτὸς δύο

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scribes the siege of the Indian city of Petra and says that Alexander dug 30 cooling pits, which he filled with snow and then threw oak branches on top; for this way the snow lasts longer. That they also chilled wine in order to drink it colder is asserted by Strattis in *Men Who Keep Cool* (fr. 60):

No one would  
be willing to drink warm wine, but quite the  
opposite,  
wine that's chilled in a well and mixed with snow.

Also Lysippus in *Bacchants* (fr. 1):

(A.) Hermon! (Hermon) What is it? (A.) How're we  
doing? (Hermon) Nothing's going on—except  
that my father, it seems to me, lowered  
me into the well, like our wine in the summer!

Diphilus says in *The Little Monument* (fr. 56):

Chill the wine, Doris!

Protagorides in Book II of his *Comic Histories* (FGrH 853 F 3), in his description of King Antiochus' voyage down the river,<sup>127</sup> offers some information about how they produce cold water, as follows: For during the day they set it out in the sun, strain off the sediment, and then expose it to the air in earthenware water-jugs on the highest parts of their houses; and all night long two slaves sprinkle the jars

<sup>127</sup> I.e. the Nile. The King Antiochus in question is probably Antiochus IV (reigned 175–164 BCE).

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<sup>10</sup> τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπηθούντες ACE

παῖδες ὕδατι τὰ τεύχη καταρραίνουσιν. ὄρθρου δὲ  
καθαιρούντες καὶ τὴν ὑποστάθμην πάλιν ὑποσπῶντες  
λεπτὸν τε ποιοῦντες αὐτὸ καὶ πρὸς ὑγίειαν οἶον ἄρι-  
f στον ἐν ἀχύροις τιθέασιν | τὰς ὑδρίας, εἴθ' οὕτως  
χρῶνται χιόνος οὐδ' ἡντινοῦν χρεῖαν ἔχοντες. λακκαί-  
ου δὲ ὕδατος μνημονεύει Ἀναξίλας ἐν Αὐλητῇ οὕτως·

(Α.) ὕδατός τε λακκαίου. (Β.) παρ' ἐμοῦ τουτί γέ  
σοι  
νόμιζ' ὑπάρχειν.

125 καὶ πάλιν· ||

ἴσως τὸ λακκαῖόν γ' ὕδωρ ἀπόλωλεν.

Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' ὁ Γελῶος καὶ τοῦ λάκκου αὐτοῦ,  
ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς λέγομεν, μνημονεύει ἐν Ἀπολειπούσῃ  
οὕτως·

ἀγωνιώσα τόν τε τοῦ λάκκου κάδον  
λύσασα καὶ τὸν τοῦ φρέατος εὐτρεπεῖς  
τὰς ἱμονιάς πεπόηκα.

Τούτων ὁ Μυρτίλος ἀκούσας ἔφη· ἐγὼ δ' ὦν φιλο-  
τάριχος, ὃ ἐταῖροι, χιόνος πιεῖν βούλομαι κατὰ Σιμω-  
νίδην. καὶ ὁ Οὐλπιανός, κείμενός μὲν ὁ φιλοτάριχος,  
b ἔφη, παρ' Ἀντιφάνει ἐν Ὀμφάλῃ οὕτως· |

οὐ φιλοτάριχος οὐδαμῶς εἰμ', ὃ κόρη.

Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν Γυναικοκρατίᾳ καὶ ζωμοτάριχόν τινα  
κέκληκεν ἐν τούτοις·

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with water. Just before daybreak they bring them down, drain the sediment off again, making the water as light and healthy as it can be, and deposit the water-jugs in heaps of chaff; then they use it as it is and have no need whatsoever for snow. Anaxilas mentions cistern-water in *The Pipe-Player* (fr. 3, encompassing both quotations), as follows:

(A.) . . . and cistern-water. (B.) Consider this my gift to you.

And again:

Perhaps he's used up his cistern-water.

Apollodorus of Gela mentions the cistern itself, using the same word we do,<sup>128</sup> in *The Woman Who Left Her Husband* (fr. 1), as follows:

In her distress, she untied the cistern-bucket and the well-bucket, and put the ropes to good use.

When Myrtilus heard these remarks, he said: Because I am fond of saltfish (*philotarichos*), my friends, I want to drink snow, as Simonides said. And Ulpian said: The word *philotarichos* is attested in Antiphanes' *Omphale* (fr. 176), as follows:

I'm not at all fond of saltfish (*philotarichos*), my girl.

And Alexis in *Women in Power* (fr. 43) refers to someone as "like saltfish-broth" (*zōmotarichos*), in the following lines:

<sup>128</sup> I.e. *lakkos* ~ Latin *lacus*.

ὁ δὲ Κίλιξ ὃδ' Ἰπποκλῆς,  
ὁ ζωμοτάριχος ὑποκριτής.

τὸ δὲ κατὰ Σιμωνίδην τί ἐστὶν οὐκ οἶδα. οὐ γὰρ μέλει  
σοι, ἔφη ὁ Μυρτίλος, ἱστορίας, ὦ γάστρων. κνισολοι-  
χὸς γάρ τις εἶ <καὶ> κατὰ τὸν Σάμιον ποιητὴν Ἄσιον  
c τὸν παλαιὸν ἐκέῖνον<sup>11</sup> κνισοκόλαξ. Καλλίστρατος ἐν ἰ  
ἐβδόμῳ Συμμίκτων φησὶν ὡς ἐστιώμενος παρά τισι  
Σιμωνίδης ὁ ποιητὴς κραταιοῦ καύματος ὥρα καὶ τῶν  
οἰνοχόων τοῖς ἄλλοις μισγόντων εἰς τὸ ποτὸν χιόνος,  
αὐτῷ δὲ οὐ, ἀπεσχεδίασε τόδε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα.

τῇ ῥά ποτ' Οὐλύμποιο περὶ πλευρὰς ἐκάλυψεν  
ὥκὺς ἀπὸ Θρήκης ὀρνύμενος Βορέης,  
ἀνδρῶν δ' ἀχλαίνων ἔδακεν φρένας, αὐτὰρ †  
d ἐκάμφθη † ἰ  
ζωὴ Πιερίην γῆν ἐπιεσσαμένη,  
ἐν τις ἐμοὶ καὶ τῆς χεάτω μέρος. οὐ γὰρ ἔοικε  
θερμὴν βαστάζειν ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ πρόποσιν.

πιόντος οὖν αὐτοῦ πάλιν ἐζήτει ὁ Οὐλπιανός· ποῦ  
κεῖται ὁ κνισολοιχὸς καὶ τίνα ἐστὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἀσίου ἔπη

<sup>11</sup> ἐκέῖνον καὶ A

<sup>129</sup> PAA 538357; Stephanis #1281. Otherwise unknown; but the claim that he is a Cilician (and thus not an Athenian) is most likely only comic slander.

<sup>130</sup> Quoted in full at 3.125d–e.

<sup>131</sup> Although the end of the third line is corrupt (Brunck suggested ἐκρύφθη, “was hidden,” while Porson proposed ἐθάφθη,

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The Cilician Hippocles<sup>129</sup> here,  
the actor who resembles saltfish-broth  
(*zōmotarichos*).

But what “as Simonides said” means, I have no idea. Yes, said Myrtilus, because you do not care about history, you glutton. For you are a fat-licker (*knisoloichos*) and, to quote the well-known ancient Samian poet Asius, a “fat-flatterer” (fr. 14.2 West<sup>2</sup>)<sup>130</sup>. Callistratus in Book VII of the *Miscellanies* (FGrH 348 F 2) says that the poet Simonides was being entertained by some people during a period of severe heat, and when the slaves in charge of the wine mixed snow into the other guests’ drinks but not into his, he extemporized the following epigram (FGE 1032–7):

That with which the swift North Wind, setting out  
from Thrace,  
once veiled Olympus’ flanks,  
and which gnawed at the minds of men who lacked  
cloaks, but † was bent †  
alive, clothing itself with Pierian earth<sup>131</sup>—  
Someone pour me a share of this! For it is  
inappropriate  
to raise a warm toast to a man who is a friend.

As he was drinking, Ulpian posed another question: Where is the word *knisoloichos* (“fat-licker”) attested? And what

“was buried”), the point must be that the snow was buried in pits in the foothills of Olympus for use during the summer; cf. 3.124c. The setting for the anecdote is thus apparently the house of a wealthy Thessalian.

τὰ περὶ τοῦ κνισοκόλακος; τὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Ἀσίου, ἔφη  
ὁ Μυρτίλος, ἔπη ταῦτ' ἐστί·

χωλός, στιγματίης, πολυγήραος, ἴσος ἀλήτη  
ἦλθε κνισοκόλαξ, εὖτε Μέλῃς ἐγάμει,  
e ἄκλητος, ζωμοῦ κεχρημένος· ἐν δὲ μέσοισιν |  
ἦρως εἰστήκει βορβόρου ἑξαναδύς.

ὁ δὲ κνισολοιχός ἐστι παρὰ μὲν Σωφίλῳ ἐν Φιλάρχῳ  
οὕτως·

ὀψοφάγος εἶ καὶ κνισολοιχός.

ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐπιγραφομένοις Συντρέχουσι κνισολοιχίαν  
εἵρηκεν ἐν τούτοις·

ὁ πορνοβοσκὸς γὰρ μ' ὑπὸ κνισολοιχίας  
χορδὴν τιν' αἵματίτιν αὐτῷ σκενᾶσαι  
f ἐκέλευσε ταυτηνί με. |

τοῦ κνισολοιχοῦ δὲ καὶ Ἀντιφάνης μνημονεύει ἐν  
Βομβυλιῷ. ὅτι δὲ ἔπινον καὶ γλυκὺν οἶνον μεταξὺ  
ἐσθίοντες, Ἀλεξίς φησιν ἐν Δρωπίδῃ·

εἰσῆλθεν ἡ ἐταίρα φέρουσα τὸν γλυκὺν  
ἐν ἀργυρῷ ποτηρίῳ πετάχνῳ τινί,

<sup>132</sup> Viz. of the underworld; cf. Ar. Ra. 145, 273.

<sup>133</sup> Literally "someone who eats (only) *opson*," the generic term for any side-dish designed to add interest to the main course of bread, barley-cake, porridge, or the like; cf. 4.138a.

<sup>134</sup> A personal name. In fact, Alexis refers not to "sweet wine"

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are the verses by Asius about the fat-flatterer (*knisokolax*)? Myrtilus said: The verses by Asius (fr. 14 West<sup>2</sup>) are as follows:

Lame, tattooed, extremely old, no different from a  
beggar,  
a *knisokolax* came, when Meles was celebrating his  
wedding;  
he was uninvited but wanted some broth. And he  
stood  
in their midst like a hero risen from the muck.<sup>132</sup>

The word *knisoloichos* ("fat-licker") is found in Sophilus' *Philarchus* (fr. 8), as follows:

You're a gourmand<sup>133</sup> and a *knisoloichos*.

And in the play entitled *Men Who Agree* (fr. 6) he uses the word *knisoloichia* ("fat-licking," i.e. "greed"), in the following lines:

For the pimp, as a result of his *knisoloichia*,  
ordered me to prepare him a blood-sausage;  
and here it is.

Antiphanes as well mentions the *knisoloichos* in *The Bumblebee* (fr. 65). Alexis in *Dropides*<sup>134</sup> (fr. 60) attests that they drank sweet wine while eating:

The courtesan came in carrying the grape-must  
in a silver *petachnon*-goblet<sup>135</sup>,

(*glukus oinos*) but to unfermented grape juice (*glukus*).

<sup>135</sup> Athenaeus comments on this type of cup at 11.496a, where see n.



ἀστειοτάτῳ τὴν ὄψιν, οὔτε τρυβλίῳ  
οὔτε φιάλῃ, μετείχε δ' ἀμφοῖν τοῖν ῥυθμοῖν.

Ἐξῆς ἐπεισηνέχθη πλακοῦς ἐκ γάλακτος ἰτρίων τε  
126 καὶ μέλιτος, ὃν Ῥωμαῖοι λίβον || καλοῦσι. καὶ ὁ  
Κύνουλκος ἔφη· ἐμπίπλασο, Οὐλπιανέ, χθωροδλάψου  
πατρίου, ὃς παρ' οὔδενι τῶν παλαιῶν μὰ τὴν Δήμητρα  
γέγραπται πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἄρα παρὰ τοῖς τὰ Φοινικικὰ  
συγγεγραφόσι Σαγχουνιάθωνι καὶ Μώχῳ, τοῖς σοῖς  
πολίταις. καὶ ὁ Οὐλπιανός,

ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μέν, (ἔφη) ὦ κυνάμνια, μελιπήκτων  
ἄλις,

ἡδέως δ' ἂν χόνδρου φάγοιμι τῶν ὀστρακίδων ἢ τῶν  
κοκκάλων ἀφθόνως ἔχοντος. καὶ κομισθέντος, δότε,  
ἔφη, μυστίλῃν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἴποιμι μύστρον, παρ'  
οὔδενι δὲ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν εἰρημένον. ἐπιλήσμων εἶ, ἔφη,  
b ὦ θαυμάσιε, ὁ Αἰμιλιανός. οὐ σὺ | μέντοι τὸν Κολοφώ-  
νιον Νίκανδρον αἰεὶ τεθαύμακας τὸν ἐποποιὸν ὥς φι-  
λάρχαιον καὶ πολυμαθῆ; καὶ ὥς τὸ πεπέρρι ὀνομά-  
σαντα παρέθου; οὗτος τοίνυν αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ τῶν  
Γεωργικῶν ἐμφανίζων τὴν τοῦ χόνδρου χρῆσιν καὶ  
μύστρον ὠνόμασε διὰ τούτων·

136 Latin *libum*. 137 A Homeric term of abuse (*Il.*  
21.394, 421), used here because Cynulcus is himself a "Dog." Cf.  
4.157a, where the word is applied to a prostitute who attends a  
Cynic drinking party. 138 Pine-nuts; see the discussion of  
the various names for them at 2.57b-c.

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a very nice-looking one; it was neither a bowl  
(*trublion*)

nor a libation-bowl (*phialē*), but a combination of the  
two shapes.

Immediately after this, a flat-cake made of milk, wafer bread, and honey, which the Romans refer to as a *libon*,<sup>136</sup> was brought in. Cynulcus said: Stuff yourself, Ulpian, on your ancestral *chthōrodlapsus*, a word found in no ancient author, by Demeter, except perhaps your fellow-citizens Sanchuniathon (*FGrH* 794 F 5a) and Mochos (*FGrH* 784 F \*36), who composed histories of Phoenicia. And Ulpian said:

Well, I've had enough honey cakes, you dogfly<sup>137</sup>.  
(*adesp. com. fr. \*107*)

But I would be happy to eat some wheat pudding full of *ostrachides* or pine-kernels.<sup>138</sup> After this was brought, he said: Give me a *mustilē*<sup>139</sup>! Since I refuse to use the word *mustron*, which is not found in any author before our time. Aemilianus said: You have grown forgetful, and I am astonished at you. Have you not, now, always expressed admiration for the epic poet Nicander of Colophon as someone fond of archaic usages and extremely learned? And did you not cite him for his use of the word "pepper"?<sup>140</sup> Well, he himself in the first of his two books of *Georgics*, in his description of how wheat pudding is made, uses the word *mustron* in the following verses (*fr. 68 Schneider*):

<sup>139</sup> Like a *mustron* (below), a piece of bread hollowed out and used as a spoon to eat soup, porridge, or the like.

<sup>140</sup> At 2.66e.

ἀλλ' ὁπότε ἡ ἐρίφοιο νεοσφάγος ἡ καὶ ἄρνος  
 ἡ αὐτοῦ ὄρνιθος ἐφοπλίζηαι ἐδωδήν,  
 c χίδρα μὲν ἐντρίψειας ὑποστρώσας ἐνὶ κοίλοις |  
 ἄγγεσιν, εὐώδει δὲ μιγῇ ἀνάφυρσον ἐλαίῳ.  
 ζωμὸν δὲ βρομέοντα † καταντλας † < . . . >  
 < . . . > πνίγε δὲ πῶμα  
 ἀμφιβαλὼν· φωκτὸν γὰρ ἀνοιδαίνει βαρὺ  
 κρίμνον·  
 ἡρέμα δὲ χλιάον κοίλοις ἐκδαίνυστο μύστροις.

διὰ τούτων, ὦ θαυμασιώτατε, ὑπογράφει ὁ Νίκανδρος  
 τὴν χρείαν τοῦ τε χόνδρου καὶ τῆς ἐπιτισμένης κριθῆς,  
 ἐπιχεῖν κελεύων ἄρνος ἡ ἐρίφου ζωμὸν ἡ ὄρνιθος. τὰ  
 d μὲν οὖν χίδρα, φησὶν, ἔντριψον | μὲν ἐν θυείᾳ, μίξας δ'  
 ἔλαιον αὐτοῖς ἀναφύρασον, ἡνίκ' ἂν ἔψηται. τὸν ἐκ  
 τῆς τοιαύσδε σκευῆς ἀναβρομοῦντα ζωμὸν πυκνότερον  
 τῇ ζωμηρύσει καταμίγνυε, μηδὲν ἕτερον ἐπεγχείων,  
 ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀρνόμενος πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν ὑπερ-  
 ζέσαι τοῦ πιμελεστέρου. διὸ καὶ φησι, κατὰπνιγε τὸ  
 ὑπερζέον ἐπιθεῖς πῶμα· τὸ < γὰρ > κρίμνον οὕτω φω-  
 κτὸν γινόμενον ἀνοιδεῖ. τελευταῖον δὲ πράως χλιαρὸν  
 γενόμενον κοίλοις προσφέρει τοῖς μύστροις. ἀλλὰ  
 e μὴν καὶ Ἰππόλοχος ὁ Μακεδὼν ἐν τῇ Πρὸς | Λυγκέα  
 Ἐπιστολῇ, δι' ἧς ἐμφανίζει Μακεδονικόν τι δεῖπνον  
 πολυτελείᾳ τὰ πάντα πανταχοῦ γενόμενα ὑπερβαλόν,  
 μνημονεύει ὡς ἐκάστῳ τῶν δειπνούντων δοθέντων μύ-  
 στρων χρυσῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ φιλάρχαιος εἶναι θέλεις καὶ  
 οὐδὲν φῆς φθέγγεσθαι ὃ μὴ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐστι φωνῆς,

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But when you prepare a freshly slaughtered kid  
or a lamb or even a bird for eating,  
grind some rough-milled wheat and sprinkle it into  
hollow  
vessels, and mix it up together with fragrant oil.  
When the broth is seething † dumping it down (?) †  
. . . and smother it by  
clamping on a lid; for the heavy barley-meal swells as  
it cooks.  
And after it has cooled down, feast on it with hollow  
*mustra*.

In these verses, admirable sir, Nicander outlines how wheat pudding and crushed barley should be prepared, recommending that you pour lamb-, kid- or bird-broth over it. As for the rough-milled wheat, he says, grind it in a mortar, and then add oil to it and mix it up when it begins to boil. When the broth begins to seethe more vigorously, agitate it with the ladle; do not add anything else to it, but lift and stir it so that none of the fattier portion boils over. This is why he says "Smother it when it boils over by putting a lid on;" because the barley-meal swells when cooked this way. And finally, when it has cooled a bit, eat it with hollow *mustra*. Moreover, Hippolochus of Macedon in his *Letter to Lynceus*, in which he describes a Macedonian dinner party that outdid any held anywhere for extravagance, notes that all the guests were given gold *mustra*.<sup>141</sup> But since you wish to be known for your love of antiquity and deny that you use any non-Attic vocabulary, my very

<sup>141</sup> See 4.129c, where the letter is quoted directly.

ὦ φίλτατε, τί ἐστὶν ὃ λέγει Νικοφῶν ὁ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας ποιητῆς ἐν τοῖς Χειρογάστορσιν; ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτον εὐρίσκω μνημονεύοντα τῶν μύστρων ὅταν λέγῃ·

μεμβραδοπώλαις, ἀνθρακοπώλαις,  
 ἰσχαδοπώλαις, διφθεροπώλαις,  
 ἀλφίτοπώλαις, μυστριοπώλαις,  
 f βιβλιοπώλαις, | κοσκινοπώλαις,  
 ἐγκριδοπώλαις, σπερματοπώλαις.

τίνες γὰρ ἂν εἶεν οἱ μυστριοπῶλαι <ἀλλ' > ἢ οἱ τὰ μύστρα πωλοῦντες; μαθὼν οὖν ἐκ τούτων, ὦ καλέ μου Συραττικέ, τὴν τοῦ μύστρου χρῆσιν ἐμποροῦ τοῦ χόνδρου, ἵνα μὴ λέγῃς·

ἄκικός εἰμι κῶλιγοδρανέω.

- 127 τεθαύμακα δὲ καὶ πῶς οὐκ ἐζήτησας, ὁ δὲ || χόνδρος πόθεν; Μεγαρόθεν ἢ Θετταλικός; ὅθεν καὶ Μυρτίλος ἐστίν. καὶ ὁ Οὐλπιανός, παύομαι, ἔφη, ἐσθίων, ἕως ἂν με διδάξῃς παρὰ τίσιν εἴρηνται οὗτοι οἱ χόνδροι. καὶ ὁ Αἰμιλιανὸς ἔφη· ἀλλ' οὐ φθονήσω σοι· ὁρῶν γὰρ λαμπροτάτην δείπνου παρασκευὴν βούλομαί σε δίκην ἀλεκτρυόνος ἐμφορηθέντα τοῦ χόνδρου κορύξασθαι καὶ διδάσκειν ἡμᾶς περὶ ὧν μέλλομεν ἐδεσμάτων μεταλαμβάνειν. καὶ ὃς δυσχεράνας ἔφη· πόθεν σοι καὶ τὰ ἐδέσματα; μὴ γὰρ ἀναπαύσασθαι ἔστι ζη-  
 b τοῦντα αἰεὶ | τι πρὸς τοὺς ὀψιμαθεῖς τούτους σοφιστάς;

### BOOK III

good friend, what is it that Nicophon the Old Comic poet says in his *Men Who Live From Hand to Mouth* (fr. 10)? For I find that he too mentions *mustra* when he says:

small-fry-sellers, charcoal-sellers,  
dried-fig-sellers, hide-sellers,  
barley-groat-sellers, spoon-sellers (*mustriopōlai*),  
book-sellers, sieve-sellers,  
oil-and-honey-cake-sellers, seed-sellers.

For who could spoon-sellers (*mustriopōlai*) be, other than people who sell spoons (*mustra*)? So now that you have learned about the usage of the word *mustron* from these examples, my good Syro-Atticist, fill yourself with the wheat porridge, so that you don't say:

I'm weak and feeble.<sup>142</sup>

I am also astonished that you did not ask, "Where does wheat pudding come from? From Megara or from Thessaly, which is Myrtilus' home-country?" And Ulpian said: I am not going to eat any more, until you instruct me as to which authors mention these wheat puddings. And Aemilianus said: Well, I will not begrudge you this. For when I see this brilliantly prepared dinner, I am happy to have you play the rooster and, once you are full of pudding, raise your crest and offer us some instruction about the foods (*edesmata*) we are about to partake of. And he got annoyed and said: Where did you get this word *edesmata*? Will I never be able to stop constantly posing questions for these scholars who failed to get an education when they were

<sup>142</sup> The first portion of an adespoton (tragic? or paratragic?) iambic trimeter line.

ἀλλὰ μὲν, ἔφη, καὶ περὶ τούτου σοι τὸν λόγον, ὁ Αἰμιλιανός, ἀποδώσω. λέξω δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ χόνδρου Ἀντιφάνους παρατιθέμενος ἐξ Ἀντείας τάδε·

(A.) ἐν ταῖς σπυρίσι δὲ τί ποτ' ἔνεστι, φίλτατε;

(B.) ἐν ταῖς τρισὶν μὲν χόνδρος ἀγαθὸς

Μεγαρικός.

(A.) οὐ Θετταλικὸν τὸν χρηστὸν εἶναί φασι δέ;

(B.) < . . . > τῆς <δὲ> Φοινίκης < . . . >

c σεμίδαλις, ἐκ πολλῆς σφόδρ' ἐξεττημένη. |

τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο δρᾶμα φέρεται καὶ ὡς Ἀλέξιδος ἐν ὀλίγοις σφόδρα διαλλάττον. ἐν δὲ Πονήρᾳ πάλιν ὁ Ἀλεξίς·

καὶ χόνδρος ἔνδον ἐστὶ Θετταλικὸς πολὺς.

χόνδρον δὲ εἴρηκε τὸ ρόφημα Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Δαιταλεύσιν οὕτως·

ἢ χόνδρον ἔψων εἶτα μνίαν ἐμβαλὼν  
ἐδίδου ροφεῖν ἄν.

d καὶ σεμιδάλεως δὲ μέμνηται, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὰ μαρτύρια κρατῶ, Στράτις ἐν Ἀνθρωπορέστη καὶ Ἀλεξίς | ἐν Ἰσοστασίῳ. τὴν γενικὴν δὲ σεμιδάλιδος εἴρηκεν ὁ Στράτις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ δράματι οὕτω·

<sup>143</sup> In fact, the first two quotations clearly use the word *chondros* in the sense "rough-milled wheat, wheat-groats" rather than "pudding made of rough-milled wheat," as above.

### BOOK III

young? Very well, said Aemilianus, I will offer you some account of this word as well. But first I will discuss wheat pudding,<sup>143</sup> by citing the following lines from Antiphanes' *Anteia* (fr. 36):

(A.) What in the world is in these baskets, my good friend?

(B.) Fine Megarian wheat groats are in three of them.

(A.) Don't people say that the Thessalian variety is best?

(B.) . . . of Phoenicia . . .

durum wheat, very finely sifted.

This same play is also assigned to Alexis with changes in only a very few places. Alexis again in *The Miserable Woman* (fr. 196):

And a large quantity of Thessalian wheat-groats is inside.

Aristophanes in *Banqueters* (fr. 208) refers to wheat pudding as something gulped down, as follows:

Or when he cooked wheat pudding, he would throw a fly in  
and offer it to someone to gulp down.

Durum wheat (*semidalis*) is also mentioned, although I cannot cite the specific passages, by Strattis in his *Man-Breaker* (fr. 2, including the quotation that follows) and by Alexis in *Isostasion*<sup>144</sup> (fr. 102.4).<sup>145</sup> Strattis uses the genitive form *semidalidos* in the same play, as follows:

<sup>144</sup> "Equal in weight (to gold)"; probably a prostitute's name.

<sup>145</sup> Quoted in full at 4.134c-d.



τῶν δὲ διδύμων ἐκγόνων Σεμιδάλιδος.

τὰ δὲ ἐδέσματα ὠνόμασεν Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Διδύμοις οὕτωςί·

ἀπέλαυσα πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἐδεσμάτων,  
πιὼν τε προπόσεις τρεῖς ἴσως ἢ τέτταρας  
ἐστρηνίων πως, καταβεβρωκὼς σιτία  
ἴσως ἐλεφάντων τεττάρων.

- e ἐχέτω τέλος καὶ ἤδε ἡ βίβλος ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς ἰ  
περὶ τῶν ἐδεσμάτων ἔχουσα τὴν καταστροφὴν· ἀρχὴν  
γὰρ τοῦ δείπνου ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξῆς ποιησόμεθα. —οὐ πρό-  
τερόν γε, ὦ Ἀθήναιε, πρὶν ἡμῖν διελθεῖν καὶ τὸ τοῦ  
Ἱππολόχου τὸ Μακεδονικὸν συμπόσιον. —ἀλλ' εἰ τοῦ-  
τό σοι φίλον, ὦ Τιμόκρατες, οὕτω παρασκευαζώμεθα.

### BOOK III

the twin offspring of Durum Wheat (*Semidalidos*).

Antiphanes used the word *edesmata* ("foods") in *Twins* (fr. 82), as follows:

I enjoyed many fine foods (*edesmata*);  
and after I drank three toasts, or maybe four,  
I ran a bit wild, since I'd consumed enough food  
for four elephants or so.

Let this book come to an end and have its conclusion with this discussion about *edesmata*; and we will begin our dinner party with what comes next. —Not until you give us a complete account of Hippolochus' Macedonian symposium, Athenaeus! —If this is what you want, Timocrates, let us arrange it that way.

Δ

- 128 Ἴππόλοχος ὁ Μακεδών, ἐταῖρε Τιμόκρατες, τοῖς χρόνοις μὲν γέγονε κατὰ Λυγκέα καὶ Δοῦριν τοὺς Σαμίους, Θεοφράστου δὲ τοῦ Ἐρεσίου μαθητάς, συνθήκας δ' εἶχε ταύτας πρὸς τὸν Λυγκέα, ὥς ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ μαθεῖν ἔστιν Ἐπιστολῶν, πάντως αὐτῷ δηλοῦν εἴ τιμι συμπεριενεχθείη δείπνῳ πολυτελεῖ, τὰ ὅμοια κακείνου ἀντιπροπίνοντος αὐτῷ. ἐκατέρων οὖν σῶζονται δειπνητικάί τινες ἐπιστολαί, Λυγκέως μὲν τὸ Λαμίας | τῆς Ἀττικῆς αὐλητρίδος ἐμφανίζοντος δείπνον Ἀθήνησι γενόμενον Δημητρίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἐπὶ κλην δὲ Πολιορκητῇ (ἐρωμένη δ' ἦν ἡ Λάμια τοῦ Δημητρίου), τοῦ δ' Ἴππολόχου τοὺς Κάρανου τοῦ Μακεδόνα ἐμφανίζοντος γάμους. καὶ ἄλλαι δὲ περιετύχομεν τοῦ Λυγκέως ἐπιστολαῖς πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν γεγραμμέναις Ἴππόλοχον, δηλούσαις τό τε Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ βασιλέως δείπνον Ἀφροδίσια ἐπιτελοῦντος Ἀθήνησι καὶ τὸ

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<sup>1</sup> Duris (tyrant of Samos and a historian) lived c.340–260 BCE. The comic poet and bon-vivant Lynceus was his brother; for Lynceus' connection with Theophrastus, cf. 4.130d.

## BOOK IV

Hippolochus of Macedon, my friend Timocrates, was a contemporary of Lynceus and Duris of Samos<sup>1</sup>, who were pupils of Theophrastus of Eresos<sup>2</sup> (Thphr. fr. 18.10). He had an agreement of the following sort with Lynceus, as one can learn from his *Letters*, which was that he was to describe for him without fail any expensive dinner party he participated in; Lynceus offered him the same courtesy in return. Dinner-party letters by both men are preserved; Lynceus describes a dinner party given in Athens for King Demetrius, nicknamed Poliorcetes ("Besieger of Cities"),<sup>3</sup> by Lamia the Athenian pipe-girl<sup>4</sup> (Lamia was Demetrius' lover); while Hippolochus describes the wedding feast put on by Caranus of Macedon. I have also encountered other letters by Lynceus written to the same Hippolochus, which offer accounts of the dinner parties given by King Antigonus when he was celebrating the Aphrodisia festival

<sup>2</sup> Theophrastus (c.372/1–c.287/6 BCE) was Aristotle's successor as head of his school.

<sup>3</sup> Demetrius (Berve i #257; 336–283 BCE) was the son of Antigonus the One-Eyed (Berve i #87). Cf. 3.100e–f, 101e–f, where Athenaeus also mentions the letters describing the dinner parties given by Antiochus and Ptolemy referred to below.

<sup>4</sup> PAA 601325; cf. 3.101e.

c Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως. <οὐ> δώσομεν δέ σοι ἡμεῖς  
καὶ αὐτὰς τὰς ἐπιστολάς. | ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τοῦ Ἱππολόχου  
σπανίως εὐρίσκεται, ἐπιδραμοῦμαί σοι τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ  
γεγραμμένα διατριβῆς ἔνεκα νῦν καὶ ψυχαγωγίας.

Ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, ὡς ἔφην, τοῦ Καράνου γάμους  
ἐστιῶντος οἱ μὲν συγκεκλημένοι ἄνδρες ἦσαν εἴκοσιν·  
οἷς καὶ κατακλιθεῖσιν εὐθέως ἐδόθησαν φιάλαι ἀργυ-  
ραὶ ἐκάστω μία δωρεά. προεστεφανώκει δὲ καὶ ἕκα-  
στον πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν στλεγγίδι χρυσῇ· πέντε χρυσῶν  
d ἐκάστη δ' ἦν τὸ τίμημα. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξέπιον τὰς | φιάλας,  
ἐν χαλκῷ πίνακι τῶν Κορινθίων κατασκευασμάτων  
ἄρτος ἐκάστω ἰσόπλατυς ἐδόθη, ὄρνεις τε καὶ νῆσσαι,  
προσέτι δὲ καὶ φάτται καὶ χῆν καὶ τοιαύτη τις ἄλλη  
ἀφθονία σεσωρευμένη, καὶ ἕκαστος λαβὼν αὐτῷ πί-  
νακι τοῖς κατόπιν διεδίδου παισίν. ἄλλα δ' ἐσθίειν  
περιεφέρετο πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀργυ-  
ροῦς πίναξ ἕτερος, ἐφ' ᾧ πάλιν ἄρτος μέγας καὶ χῆνες  
καὶ λαγωοὶ καὶ ἔριφοι καὶ ἕτεροι ἄρτοι πεπονημένοι  
καὶ περιστεραὶ καὶ τρυγόνες πέρδικές τε καὶ ὅσον  
e ἄλλο πτηνῶν πλήθος ἦν. | ἐπεδώκαμεν οὖν, φησί, καὶ  
ταῦτα τοῖς δούλοις καὶ ὡς ἄδην εἵχομεν βρώσεως  
ἐχερνυψάμεθα. καὶ στέφανοι εἰσηνέχθησαν πολλοὶ  
παντοδαπῶν ἀνθέων ἐπὶ πᾶσί τε χρυσαῖ στλεγγίδες,  
ὀλκὴν ἴσαι τῷ πρώτῳ στεφάνῳ. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις εἰπὼν ὁ  
129 Ἱππόλοχος ὡς Πρωτέας || ἀπόγονος ἐκείνου Πρωτέου

<sup>5</sup> Presumably Antiochus I (reigned 295/4–261 BCE) and Ptolemy II Philadelphus (reigned 285/3–246 BCE).

## BOOK IV

in Athens, and by King Ptolemy.<sup>5</sup> I will not offer you the letters themselves; but since the one by Hippolochus is rarely encountered, I will run through its contents for you now to provide some amusement and diversion.<sup>6</sup>

When Caranus gave his wedding feast in Macedon, as I said, 20 men attended as his guests; the moment they lay down, each of them was given a silver libation-bowl to keep. Even before they came in, he had garlanded them all with gold tiaras, each worth five gold coins. After they drank the contents of their libation-bowls, each man was given a loaf of bread on a bronze platter of Corinthian workmanship (the loaf was as big as the platter), along with chickens and ducks, as well as ring-doves, a goose, and an immense pile of other such items; each man took the food and handed it, platter and all, to the slaves standing behind him. Many other elaborate dishes made their way around the group, and after them came another platter, this one of silver, upon which was again a large loaf of bread, geese, hares, kids, other fancy types of bread, pigeons, turtle-doves, partridges, and an enormous collection of other birds. So we gave these items as well, he says, to the slaves; and when we had had enough to eat, we washed our hands. Numerous garlands made of flowers of every kind were brought in, with gold tiaras that weighed as much as the first garlands attached to all of them. Following this, Hippolochus reports, Proteas, a descendant of the famous

<sup>6</sup> The character Athenaeus is the narrator until 4.134d, when Plutarch begins to speak and we abruptly return to the dinner party in Larensius' house.

- Λανίκης υἱοῦ, ἣτις ἐγεγόνει τροφὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔπινε πλείστον (ἦν γὰρ πολυπότης ὡς καὶ ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ Πρωτέας ὁ συγγενόμενος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ) καὶ ὅτι πᾶσι προὔπιεν, ἐξῆς γράφει καὶ ταῦτα· ἤδη δὲ ἡμῶν ἡδέως ἀπηλλοτριωμένων τοῦ σωφρονεῖν ἐπεισβάλλουσιν αὐλητρίδες καὶ μουσουργοὶ καὶ σαμβυκίστριαί τινες Ῥόδιαι, ἐμοὶ μὲν γυμναὶ δοκῶ, πλὴν ἔλεγον τινες αὐτὰς ἔχειν χιτῶνας, ἀπαρξάμεναί τε
- b ἀπῆλθον. καὶ ἐπεισῆλθον ἄλλαι φέρουσαι | ληκύθους μύρον ἐκάστη δύο συνδεδεμένας ἱμάντι χρυσῷ, τὴν μὲν ἀργυρᾶν, τὴν δὲ χρυσῆν, κοτυλιαίας, καὶ ἐκάστω προσέδωκαν. ἔπειτ' εἰσφέρεται πλούτος ἀντὶ δείπνου, πίναξ ἀργυροῦς ἐπὶ πάχος οὐκ ὀλίγον περίχρυσος, ὅσος δέξασθαι μέγεθος χοίρου τινὸς ὀπτοῦ καὶ σφόδρα μεγάλου, ὃς ὕπτιος ἐπέκειτο τὴν γαστέρα δεικνὺς ἄνω πλήρη οὖσαν πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν· ἦσαν γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ συνωπτημέναι κίχλαι καὶ νῆτται καὶ συκαλλίδων
- c πλήθος ἄπειρον καὶ ὧν ἐπικεχυμένοι | λέκιθοι καὶ ὄστρεα καὶ κτένες· καὶ ἐκάστω πεπυργωμένα αὐτοῖς πίναξιν ἐδόθη. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πiónτες ἐλάβομεν ἕκαστος ἔριφον ζέοντα ἐφ' ἐτέρῳ πάλιν πίνακι τοιούτῳ σὺν μύστροις χρυσοῖς. ὁρῶν οὖν τὴν δυσχωρίαν ὁ Κάρανος κελεύει σπυρίδας ἡμῖν καὶ ἀρτοφόρα διὰ ἱμάντων ἐλεφαντίνων πεπλεγμένα δοθῆναι, ἐφ' οἷς

<sup>7</sup> Berve i #664. Proteas belonged to Alexander's inner circle of Macedonian nobles, and the king is supposed to have died after a drinking contest with him; see 10.434a–b.

## BOOK IV

Proteas<sup>7</sup> the son of Lanice<sup>8</sup> (who was King Alexander's nurse), drank more than anyone else—he was a heavy drinker, like his grandfather Proteas, the contemporary of Alexander—and toasted them all. Immediately after this he writes the following: We had now happily escaped sobriety, when some pipe-girls, female singers, and Rhodian *sambukē*<sup>9</sup>-girls came in—they looked naked to me, although some of the guests claimed that they were wearing tunics—and after playing a prelude, they went out again. Other girls came in after them, each carrying two perfume-flasks, one made of gold and the other of silver, and each with a capacity of one *kotulē*<sup>10</sup> and tied together with a gold cord, and they gave a pair to all of us. Then a fortune was served instead of dinner: a silver platter covered with heavy gold plate, and large enough to hold a huge roast piglet lying on its back and displaying its belly, which was full of many delicious items; for inside it were roast thrushes, ducks, and an immense quantity of warblers, as well as pea soup poured over hard-boiled eggs, as well as oysters and scallops. These items were all stacked on top of one another and were given to each guest, along with the platters. After this we drank, and each of us received a piping hot kid on yet another platter of the same sort, accompanied by gold spoons.<sup>11</sup> When Caranus saw that we were running into trouble, he ordered us to be given baskets and bread-trays woven out of strips of ivory; we were so delighted

<sup>8</sup> Berve i #462.

<sup>9</sup> A primitive arched harp, also referred to as an *iambukē*; cf. 14.633f–4b, 637b; West, AGM 75–7.

<sup>10</sup> Approximately one cup.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. 3.126e.



ἡσθέντες ἀνεκροταλίσσαμεν τὸν νυμφίον ὥς καὶ τῶν  
 δοθέντων ἡμῖν ἀνασεσωσμένων. ἔπειτα στέφανοι πά-  
 λιν καὶ διλήκυθον μύρου χρυσοῦν καὶ ἀργυροῦν ἰσό-  
 d σταθμον | τοῖς προτέροις. ἡσυχίας δὲ γενομένης ἐπ-  
 εισβάλλουσιν ἡμῖν οἱ καὶ τοῖς Χύτροις τοῖς Ἀθήνησι  
 λειτουργήσαντες. μεθ' οὓς εἰσῆλθον ἰθύφαλλοι καὶ  
 σκληροπαῖκται καὶ τινες καὶ θαυματουργοὶ γυναῖκες  
 εἰς ξίφη κυβιστῶσαι καὶ πῦρ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ἐκριπί-  
 ζουσαι γυμναί. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τούτων ἀπηλλά- γημεν,  
 ἐκλαμβάνει πάλιν ἡμᾶς θερμός τις καὶ ζωρότερος  
 πότος, οἶνων ὄντων ἡμῖν Θασίων καὶ Μενδαίων καὶ  
 Λεσβίων, χρυσίδων πάνυ μεγάλων ἐκάστῳ προσ-  
 ενεχθεισῶν. καὶ μετὰ τὸν πότον ὑελοῦς πίναξ δίπηχὺς  
 e | που τὴν διάμετρον ἐν θήκῃ κατακείμενος ἀργυρᾷ  
 πλήρης ἰχθύων ὁπτῶν πάντα γένη συνηθροισμένων,  
 ἅπασί τε προσεδόθη καὶ ἀργυροῦν ἀρτοφόρον ἄρτων  
 Καππαδοκίων, ὧν τὰ μὲν ἐφάγομεν, τὰ δὲ τοῖς θερά-  
 πουσιν ἐπεδώκαμεν. καὶ νυψάμενοι τὰς χεῖρας ἐστεφα-  
 νούμεθα καὶ πάλιν στλεγγίδας ἐλάβομεν χρυσᾶς,  
 διπλασίους τῶν πρότερον, καὶ ἄλλο διλήκυθον μύρου.  
 ἡσυχίας δὲ γενομένης ἐξαλλόμενος τῆς κλίνης ὁ Πρω-  
 τέας αἰτεῖ σκύφον χοαῖον καὶ πληρώσας οἶνου Θα-  
 f σίου ὀλίγον τι | ἐπιρράνας ὕδατος ἐξέπιεν ἐπειπών·

ὁ πλείστα πίνων πλείστα κεῦφρανθήσεται.

<sup>12</sup> Probably a chorus of some sort; cf. 4.130d; Plu. Mor. 841f; D.L. 3.56. <sup>13</sup> Three of the finest local varieties of Greek wine; cf. 1.28d-9f.

## BOOK IV

with these that we applauded the bridegroom, since our gifts had been preserved for us. Then there were more garlands and a pair of gold and silver perfume-flasks that weighed as much as the first set. When things quieted down, we were visited by the men who perform at the Festival of Pots in Athens.<sup>12</sup> They were followed in by ithyphallic dancers and clowns, and by naked female acrobats who did tumbling tricks among swords and blew fire from their mouths. When we were finished with them, our attention was captured next by a strong hot drink; we had Thasian, Mendaeian, and Lesbian wines<sup>13</sup> at our disposal, and each of us was brought an enormous gold drinking-cup. After we finished drinking, we were all presented with a glass platter about two cubits<sup>14</sup> in diameter lying in a silver frame and full of a collection of roast fish of every sort, as well as with a silver bread-tray full of Cappadocian bread<sup>15</sup>; we ate some of this food and gave the rest to our slaves. Afterward we washed our hands, garlanded ourselves, and were given another set of gold tiaras twice as large as the previous ones, along with another set of perfume-flasks. When things quieted down, Proteas leapt up from his couch and asked for a bowl that could hold a *chous*<sup>16</sup>. He filled the bowl with Thasian wine, sprinkled a few drops of water into it,<sup>17</sup> drank the contents, and said:

He who drinks the most will also be the happiest.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Approximately three feet; see 2.50b n.

<sup>15</sup> See 3.112b-c.

<sup>16</sup> See 3.118a n.

<sup>17</sup> On the pretext of mixing it.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. E. fr. 576 "He of mortals who does the most errs the most."

καὶ ὁ Κάρανος ἔφη· ἐπεὶ πρῶτος ἔπιες, ἔχε πρῶτος καὶ τὸν σκύφον δῶρον· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσοι ἂν πίωσιν ἔσται γέρας. ἐφ' οἷς λεχθεῖσιν

οἱ δ' ἐννέα πάντες ἀνέσταν

ἀρπάζοντες κἄλλος ἄλλον φθάνοντες. εἷς δὲ τῶν συνδειπνούντων ἡμῖν ἄθλιος οὐ δυνάμενος πιεῖν ἀνακαθίσας ἔκλαιεν ἄσκυφος γενόμενος, καὶ ὁ Κάρανος αὐτῷ  
 130 χαρίζεται κενὸν τὸ ἔκπωμα. ἐπὶ || τούτοις χορὸς εἰσῆλθεν ἀνθρώπων ἑκατὸν ἐμμελῶς ᾄδόντων γαμικὸν ὕμνον, μεθ' οὓς ὀγχηστρίδες διεσκευασμένοι τρόπον Νηρηίδων, αἱ δὲ νυμφῶν. τοῦ πότου δὴ προϊόντος καὶ τῆς ὥρας ὑποσκιαζούσης ἀναπεταννύουσι τὸν οἶκον, ἐν ᾧ κύκλῳ ὀθόναις διείληπτο πάντα λευκαῖς· καὶ ἀναπετασθειςῶν Ναῖδες ἐφάνησαν λάθρα κατὰ μηχανὰς σχασθέντων τῶν φραγμάτων καὶ Ἑρωτες καὶ Ἀρτέμιδες καὶ Πᾶνες καὶ Ἑρμαῖ καὶ τοιαῦτα πολλὰ εἰδῶλα ἀργυροῖς δαδουχοῦντα λαμπτήρσι. θαυμαζόντων  
 b τῶν | δ' ἡμῶν τὴν τεχνιτείαν Ἑρυμάνθιοι τῷ ὄντι σύαγροι κατὰ πινάκων τετραγώνων χρυσομίτρων σιβύναις ἀργυραῖς διαπεπερονημένοι περιεφέροντο ἐκάστω· καὶ τὸ θαυμάσιον, ὅτι παρειμένοι καὶ καρηβαροῦντες ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης ὅποτε τι τῶν ἀγομένων θεασαίμεθα πάντες ἐξενήφομεν, ὀρθοὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον ἀνιστάμενοι. ἑναττον οὖν οἱ παῖδες εἰς τὰς εὐτυχεῖς

<sup>19</sup> Sc. from which the curtains hung; but the Greek is obscure.

## BOOK IV

And Caranus said: Since you were the first to drink your wine, you are also the first to have your bowl as a gift. But the same prize awaits any of the others who drink theirs. In response to these words (*Il.* 7.161)

all nine arose,

each man trying to grab his bowl more quickly than anyone else could. But one unhappy member of our group, who was unable to drink his wine, sat up and began to weep because he failed to get a bowl, until Caranus emptied the cup and made him a present of it. After this a chorus of 100 men came in singing a wedding hymn in harmony; they were followed by dancing-girls, some dressed like Nereids, others like nymphs. As the drinking continued and the evening shadows began to spread, they opened up the room, which had been entirely surrounded by white linen curtains. After these were pulled up and the lattice-work<sup>19</sup> was withdrawn in some mysterious way, Naiads appeared, along with Erotes, Artemises, Pans, Hermeses, and many figures of this type holding torches in silver lampstands. As we were expressing amazement about how this had been done, virtual Erymanthian boars<sup>20</sup> spitted on silver spears were brought around for all the guests on square platters with gold rims. What is amazing is that, although we were weak and our heads were heavy because of how drunk we were, whenever we saw one of the items that were brought in, we all grew sober and "stood up straight," as the saying goes. For the slaves kept on piling our lucky baskets full

<sup>20</sup> A reference to the enormous boar that lived around Mt. Erymanthus, which Heracles captured as one of his labors (e.g. *S. Tr.* 1097; [*Apollod.*] *Bib.* 2.5.4.)

- σπυρίδας, ἕως ἐσάλπισε τὸ εἰωθὸς τοῦ τελευταίου  
 δείπνου σημείον· οὕτω γὰρ τὸ Μακεδονικὸν οἶσθα  
 ἔθος ἐν ταῖς πολυανθρώποις εὐωχίαις γινόμενον. καὶ ὁ  
 c Κάρανος ἄρξας πότον | μικροῖς ἐκπώμασι περισοβεῖν  
 ἐκέλευε τοῖς παισίν. ἐπίνομεν οὖν εὐμαρῶς ὥσπερ  
 ἀντίδοτον ἐκ τῆς προτέρας ἀκρατοποσίας λαμβάνον-  
 τες. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ γελωτοποιὸς εἰσῆλθε Μανδρογένης,  
 ἐκείνου Στράτωνος τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ, ὥς φασιν, ἀπόγονος  
 καὶ πολλοὺς κατέρρηξεν ἡμῶν γέλωτας· καὶ μετὰ  
 ταῦτα ὠρχεῖτο μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἔτη οὔσης ὑπὲρ τὰ  
 ὀγδοήκοντα. καὶ τελευταῖαι ἐπεισῆλθον ἐπιδόρπια  
 τράπεζαι, τραγήματά τ' ἐν πλεκτοῖς ἐλεφαντίνοις ἐπε-  
 δόθη πᾶσι καὶ πλακοῦντες ἕκαστα γένη, Κρητικῶν  
 d καὶ τῶν σῶν, ἐταῖρε Λυγκεῦ, | Σαμιακῶν καὶ Ἀττικῶν  
 αὐταῖς ταῖς ἰδίαις τῶν περμμάτων θήκαις. μετὰ δὲ  
 ταῦτα ἐξαναστάντες ἀπηλλαττόμεθα νήφοντες νῆ-  
 τοὺς θεοὺς διὰ τὸν φόβον τοῦ πλούτου ὃν ἐλάβομεν.  
 σὺ δὲ μόνον ἐν Ἀθήναις μένων εὐδαιμονίζεις τὰς  
 Θεοφράστου θέσεις ἀκούων, θύμα καὶ εὐζωμα καὶ  
 τοὺς καλοὺς ἐσθίων στρεπτούς, Λήναια καὶ Χύτρος  
 θεωρῶν. ἡμεῖς δ' ἐκ τοῦ Κάρανου δείπνου πλούτον  
 ἀντὶ μερίδων εὐωχηθέντες νῦν ζητοῦμεν οἱ μὲν οἰκίας,  
 οἱ δὲ ἀγρούς, οἱ δὲ ἀνδράποδ' ὠνήσασθαι.  
 e Εἰς | ταῦτα, ὦ ἐταῖρε Τιμόκρατες, ἀποβλέπων τίνι

<sup>21</sup> An allusion to the sip of unmixed wine drunk at the beginning of the symposium in honor of the "good divinity"; cf. 2.38d with n.

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until the customary trumpet-blast that marks the end of dinner sounded; because, as you know, this is the Macedonian custom at feasts attended by a large number of people. Caranus began the drinking with small cups and ordered the slaves to make their way rapidly around the group. We accordingly started drinking at an easy pace, as if we were taking an antidote for the unmixed wine we drank earlier.<sup>21</sup> As this was going on, the clown Mandrogenes,<sup>22</sup> who people claim is a descendant of the famous Straton of Athens,<sup>23</sup> came in and made us break into laughter repeatedly; after that he danced with his wife, who was over 80 years old. Finally the after-dinner tables came in, and everyone was given symposium snacks in ivory baskets, along with flat-cakes of every kind—the Cretan types, your Samian types, my dear Lynceus, and the Attic types—along with the special cake-containers for each. After this we got up and left; and we were sober, by the gods, as a result of our anxiety about the riches we got. You, on the other hand, simply remain in Athens and consider yourself happy because you listen to Theophrastus' theses (Thphr. fr. 76), and eat thyme, rocket, and your fine twist-bread<sup>24</sup>, and are a spectator at the Lenaia and the Festival of Pots.<sup>25</sup> Whereas we, who were feasted on wealth from Caranus' dinner party rather than on leftovers, are currently looking for houses, land, or slaves to buy.

When you take account of all this, my friend

<sup>22</sup> Stephanis #1600.

<sup>23</sup> PA 12968; Stephanis #2314; cf. 14.614d (another reference to this section of the letter).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. 3.113d.



συγκρίναι ἔχεις τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν δείπνων τὸ προκείμενον τοῦτο συμπόσιον; ὁπότε καὶ Ἀντιφάνης ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς ἐν Οἰνομάῳ ἢ Πέλοπι διαπαίζων ἔφη·

τί δ' ἂν Ἕλληνες μικροτράπεζοι,  
φυλλοτρῶγες δράσειαν; ὅπου  
τέτταρα λήψη κρέα μικρ' ὀβολοῦ.  
παρὰ δ' ἡμετέροις προγόνοισιν ὅλους  
βοῦς ὥπτων, σῦς, ἐλάφους, ἄρνας·  
f τὸ τελευταῖον δ' ὁ | μάγειρος ὅλον  
τέρας ὀπτήσας μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ  
θερμὴν παρέθηκε κάμηλον.

ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης δ' ἐν Ἀχαρνέῃσι καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐμφανίζων τὴν μεγαλειότητά φησιν·

(Πρ.) εἴτ' ἐξένιζε παρετίθει θ' ἡμῖν ὅλους  
131 ἐκ κριβάνου βοῦς. (Δι.) καὶ τίς εἶδε πώποτε ||  
βοῦς κριβανίτας; τῶν ἀλαζονευμάτων.  
(Πρ.) καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δί' ὄρνιν τριπλάσιον  
Κλεωνύμου  
παρέθηκεν ἡμῖν· ὄνομα δ' ἦν αὐτῷ φέναξ.

Ἀναξανδρίδης δ' ἐν Πρωτεσιλάῳ διασύρων τὸ τῶν Ἰφικράτους γάμων συμπόσιον, ὅτε ἤγετο τὴν Κότυος

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<sup>25</sup> Cf. 4.129d with n.

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Timocrates, to what Greek dinner party can the symposium just described be compared? Since the comic poet Antiphanes says mockingly in *Oenomaus or Pelops* (fr. 170):

What could leaf-eating Greeks  
with their scanty tables accomplish? A land where  
you'll get four little chunks of meat for an obol!  
Whereas in our ancestors' time they roasted  
whole oxen, pigs, deer, and lambs;  
and to top it all off, the cook would roast  
and serve the Great King, as a surprise,  
a whole hot camel!

Aristophanes in *Acharnians* (85–9) as well describes the barbarians' magnificence and says:

(Ambassador) Then he entertained us and served us  
whole  
oxen prepared in a baking shell. (Dicaeopolis) Who  
ever saw  
oxen prepared in a baking shell? What bullshit!  
(Ambassador) And, by Zeus, he served us a bird  
three times as big as Cleonymus<sup>26</sup>; it was called a  
“cheat-bird.”

Anaxandrides in *Protesilaus* (fr. 42) mocks the symposium that was part of Iphicrates' wedding feast when he married

<sup>26</sup> PAA 579410, an Athenian politician attacked by Aristophanes *inter alia* for his alleged gluttony and duplicity. See Olson ad loc.



τοῦ Θρακῶν βασιλέως θυγατέρα, φησί·

(A.) καὶ ταῦτα ποιῆθ' ὥσπερ φράζω,  
λαμπροῖς δείπνοις δεξόμεθ' ὑμᾶς,  
οὐδὲν ὁμοίοις τοῖς Ἴφικράτους  
τοῖς ἐν Θράκη· καίτοι φασὶν

- b       βουβαυκαλόσαντα | γενέσθαι.  
κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν μὲν ὑπεστρώσθαι  
στρώμαθ' ἀλουργῇ μέχρι τῆς ἄρκτου·  
δειπνεῖν δ' ἄνδρας βουτυροφάγους,  
αὐχμηροκόμας μυριοπληθεῖς·  
τοὺς δὲ λέβητας χαλκοῦς εἶναι,  
μείζους λάκκων δωδεκακλίνων·  
αὐτὸν δὲ Κότυν περιεζῶσθαι  
ζωμόν τε φέρειν ἐν χοῖ χρυσῇ,  
καὶ γεγόμενον τῶν κρατήρων  
πρότερον μεθύειν τῶν πινόντων.  
αὐλεῖν δ' αὐτοῖς Ἀντιγενεΐδαν,  
Ἀργᾶν δ' ᾄδειν καὶ κιθαρίζειν  
Κηφισόδοτον τὸν Ἀχαρνῆθεν,  
c       μέλπειν | δ' ὦδαῖς  
τοτὲ μὲν Σπάρτην τὴν εὐρύχορον,  
τοτὲ δ' αὖ Θήβας τὰς ἑπταπύλους,  
τὰς <θ> ἁρμονίας μεταβάλλειν.  
φερνάς τε λαβεῖν δύο μὲν ξανθῶν

<sup>27</sup> Iphicrates son of Timotheus of the deme Rhamnous (PAA 542925) was an important Athenian general. Cotys took the

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the daughter of Cotys king of the Thracians,<sup>27</sup> and says:

(A.) And if you behave just as I explain,  
we'll welcome you with a brilliant dinner party  
quite unlike the one Iphicrates  
celebrated in Thrace; although they say  
    it was a huge, swank, swaggering affair.  
Purple bedding was spread as high as  
the Great Bear throughout the marketplace;  
butter-eating men were dining,  
dirty-haired hordes;  
the cauldrons were made of bronze  
and were larger than 12-couch cisterns;  
and Cotys himself wore an apron,  
served broth in a gold pitcher,  
and got drunk before the drinkers did,  
by tasting the mixing-bowls.  
Antigeneides played the pipes for them;  
Argas sang;<sup>28</sup> and Cephisodotus  
of Acharnae played the lyre  
and celebrated with his songs  
now Sparta of the broad dancing-places,  
now seven-gated Thebes,  
    and varied his harmonies.  
As a dowry he got two herds

throne in 384 or 383, and Iphicrates probably married into the family a few years earlier, before Cotys was awarded Athenian citizenship (cf. D. 23.118). The bride may actually have been Cotys' sister rather than his daughter, as Athenaeus and other late sources claim. See J.K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600-300 B.C.* (Oxford, 1971) 248-50; and cf. 6.248e with n.; 12.531e-2a.

ἵππων ἀγέλας αἰγῶν τ' ἀγέλην  
χρυσοῦν τε σάκος

< . . . > φιάλην τε λεπαστήν,  
χιόνος τε πρόχουν κέρχων τε σιρὸν  
βολβῶν τε χύτραν δωδεκάπηχυν  
καὶ πουλυπόδων ἑκατόμβην.

ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως φασὶ ποιῆσαι  
Κότυν ἐν Θράκῃ, γάμον Ἰφικράτει.  
τούτων δ' ἔσται πολὺ σεμνότερον  
καὶ λαμπρότερον παρὰ δεσποσύνοις

d τοῖς ἡμετέροις. τί | γὰρ ἐλλείπει  
δόμος ἡμέτερος, ποίων ἀγαθῶν;  
οὐ σμύρνης ἐκ Συρίας ὄσμαι  
λιβάνου τε πνοαί; τερενόχρωτες  
μαζῶν ὄψεις, ἄρτων, ἀμύλων,  
πουλυποδείων, χολίκων, δημοῦ,  
φυσκῶν, ζωμοῦ, τεύτλων, θρίων,  
λεκίθου, σκορόδων, ἀφύης, σκόμβρων,  
ἐνθρυμματίδων, πτισάνης, ἀθάρης,  
κνάμων, λαθύρων, ὥχρων, δολίχων,  
μέλιτος, τυροῦ, χορίων, πυρῶν,

<sup>28</sup> Antigeneidas son of Satyrus of Thebes (Stephanis #196) and Argas (Stephanis #292) were famous musicians in the first half of the 4th century. Cephisodotus (PAA 567705; Stephanis #1393) is otherwise unknown.

<sup>29</sup> Or perhaps "a gold shield," although "wine-strainer" makes better sense with what follows.

<sup>30</sup> For this type of bowl, the exact shape of which is obscure, see 11.484f–6a.

<sup>31</sup> For chilling wine; see 3.123d–5d.

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of bay horses and a herd of goats,  
 a gold wine-strainer<sup>29</sup>,  
     . . . a limpet-shaped libation-bowl,<sup>30</sup>  
 a pitcher of snow,<sup>31</sup> a storage pit full of millet,  
 a 12-cubit cookpot of hyacinth bulbs,  
     and an enormous quantity of octopi.<sup>32</sup>  
 That's how, people say, Cotys arranged  
 these matters in Thrace, as a wedding for Iphicrates.  
 What goes on in our masters' house, on the other  
     hand,  
 will be much grander and more brilliant  
 than this. For what does our house  
 lack, or what category of goods does it want?  
 Are there no scents of Syrian myrrh  
 or wafts of frankincense? Tender-skinned  
 barley-cakes can be seen; and bread, milk-and-honey-  
     cakes,  
 little octopi, intestine sausages, beef fat,  
*phuskai*<sup>33</sup>, broth, beets, fig-leaf pastries,  
 pea soup, garlic, small-fry, mackerel,  
*enthrummatides*<sup>34</sup>, barley gruel, wheat gruel,  
 fava beans, vetch, *ōchroi*<sup>35</sup>, long beans,  
 honey, cheese, membrane pudding<sup>36</sup>, wheat,

<sup>32</sup> Hyacinth bulbs and octopi were regarded as aphrodisiacs, which must be part of the point. <sup>33</sup> Another type of sausage, made of wheat flour and meat (Suda φ 865), or of barley flour, fat, and blood (*EM* p. 802.56–8). Cf. 4.138e.

<sup>34</sup> Cakes of some sort, perhaps identical with *thrummatides* (thus Hsch. θ 794; cf. 4.132a, 147b); cf. Antiph. fr. 181.4–5; Phot. θ 238. <sup>35</sup> An unidentified type of vetch.

<sup>36</sup> Made with milk and honey; see 14.646e with n.

- καρύων, χόνδρου,  
 κάραβοι ὀπτοί, τευθίδες ὀπταί,  
 κεστρεὺς ἐφθός, σηπίαι ἐφθαί,  
 μύραιν' ἐφθή, κωβιοὶ ἐφθοί,  
 e θυννίδες ὀπταί, φυκίδες | ἐφθαί,  
 βάτραχοι, πέρκαι,  
 συνόδοντες, ὄνοι, βατίδες, ψήτται,  
 γαλεός, κόκκυξ, θρίσσαι, νάρκαι,  
 ῥίνης τεμάχη, σχαδόνες, βότρυνες,  
 σῦκα, πλακοῦντες, μῆλα, κρίνεια,  
 ῥόαι, ἔρπυλλος, μήκων, ἀχράδες,  
 κνηῆκος, ἐλάαι, στέμφυλ', ἄμητες,  
 πράσα, γήτειον, κρόμμυα, φυστή,  
 βολβοί, κανλοί, σίλφιον, ὄξος,  
 μάραθ', ὦά, φακῇ, τέττιγες, ὀποί,  
 κάρδαμα, σήσαμα, κήρυκες, ἄλες,  
 πίνναι, λεπάδες, μύες, ὄστρεια,  
 κτένες, ὄρκυνες· καὶ πρὸς τούτοις  
 ὀρνιθαρίων ἄφατον πλῆθος,  
 f νητῶν, φατῶν | χῆνες, στρουθοί,  
 κίχλαι, κόρυδοι, κίτται, κύκνοι,  
 πελεκάν, κίγκλοι, γέρανος— (B.) τουδὶ  
 τοῦ χάσκοντος διατειναμένη  
 διὰ τοῦ προκτοῦ καὶ τῶν πλευρῶν  
 διακόψειεν τὸ μέτωπον.  
 (A.) οἶνοι δέ † σοι λευκὸς  
 γλυκὺς αὐθιγενὴς ἡδὺς καπνίας.

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nuts, wheat pudding,  
 roasted crayfish, roasted squid,  
 stewed mullet, stewed cuttlefish,  
 stewed moray eel, stewed gobies,  
 roasted tuna, stewed wrasse,  
 angler-fish, perch,  
 four-toothed sea-bream, hake, skate, turbot,  
 thresher shark, gurnard, sprats, electric rays,  
 monkfish steaks, honeycombs, grape clusters,  
 figs, flat-cakes, apples, cornel cherries,  
 pomegranates, thyme, poppy seed, wild pears,  
 saffron, olives, olive pomace, milk cakes,  
 a leek, a *gēteion*<sup>37</sup>, onions, a *phustē*<sup>38</sup>,  
 hyacinth bulbs, silphium stalk, silphium, vinegar,  
 fennel, eggs, lentil soup, cicadas, fig juice,  
 cress, sesame seeds, trumpet-shells, salt,  
 pinnas, limpets, mussels, oysters,  
 scallops, *orkunes*<sup>39</sup>. And in addition  
 an enormous quantity of little birds,  
 ducks, and ring-doves; also geese, sparrows,  
 thrushes, larks, jays, swans,  
 a pelican, wagtails, a crane— (B.) May the crane  
 stretch out its head through the asshole  
 and ribs of this fellow here with the open mouth  
 and split his forehead open!  
 (A.) And wines † for you white,  
 sweet, local, pleasant, and smoky.

<sup>37</sup> An unidentified vegetable related to the onion; see Arnott on Alex. fr. 132.7 (quoted at 4.170b).

<sup>38</sup> A barley-cake of some sort; cf. Moer. *φ* 10; *EM* p. 803.1.

<sup>39</sup> Some sort of tuna; cf. Olson–Sens on Archestr. fr. 35.3.

Λυγκεὺς δ' ἐν Κενταύρῳ διαπαίζων τὰ Ἀττικά  
δειπνά φησι·

- (A.) μάγειρ', ὁ θύων ἔσθ' ὁ δειπνίζων τ' ἐμὲ  
Ῥόδιος, ἐγὼ δ' ὁ κεκλημένος Περίνθιος·  
οὐδέτερος ἡμῶν ἡδεται τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς  
132 δείπνοις. (B.) ἀηδία γάρ ἐστιν Ἀττική; ||  
(A.) ὥσπερ ξενική. παρέθηκε πίνακα γὰρ μέγαν,  
ἔχοντα μικροὺς πέντε πινακίσκους ἄνω·  
τούτων ὁ μὲν ἔχει σκόροdon, ὁ δ' ἐχίνους δύο,  
ὁ δὲ θρυμματίδα γλυκεῖαν, ὁ δὲ κόγχας δέκα,  
ὁ δ' ἀντακαίου μικρόν. ἐν ὅσῳ δ' ἐσθίω,  
ἕτερος ἐκείν', ἐν ὅσῳ δ' ἐκείνος, τοῦτ' ἐγὼ  
ἡφάνισα. βούλομαι δέ γ', ὦ βέλτιστε σύ,  
b κακέينو καὶ τοῦτ', ἀλλ' ἀδύνατα βούλομαι |  
οὔτε στόματα γὰρ οὔτε χεῖρας πέντ' ἔχω.  
ὄψιν μὲν οὖν ἔχει τὰ τοιαῦτα ποικίλην,  
ἀλλ' οὐθέν ἐστι τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν γαστέρα·  
κατέπασα γὰρ τὸ χεῖλος, οὐκ ἐνέπλησα δέ.  
τί οὖν; ἔχεις ὄστρεια; (B.) πολλά. (A.) πίνακά  
μοι  
τούτων παραθήσεις αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ μέγαν.  
ἔχεις ἐχίνους; (B.) ἕτερος ἔσται σοι πίναξ·  
αὐτὸς γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπριάμην ὀκτὼ ὀβολῶν.  
(A.) ὀψάριον αὐτὸ τοῦτο παραθήσεις μόνον,

<sup>40</sup> See 4.131d n.



## BOOK IV

Lynceus makes fun of Attic dinner parties in *The Centaur* (fr. 1) and says:

(A.) Cook, the man who's making the sacrifice and  
having me to dinner  
is from Rhodes, and I, his guest, am from Perinthos;  
neither of us likes Attic  
dinner parties. (B.) Is it possible to dislike Attic food?  
(A.) Just like any food that's not one's own. You're  
served a big platter  
with five little platters on top;  
one holds a garlic clove, another two seurchins,  
the third a sweet *thrummatis*<sup>40</sup>, the fourth ten  
shellfish,  
and the fifth a little piece of sturgeon. While I'm  
eating this,  
the other fellow is eating that; and while he's eating  
that,  
I'm making this disappear. But, my good sir, I want  
both this and that—and what I want is impossible,  
because I don't have five mouths or five hands.  
This sort of arrangement makes an impressive  
appearance,  
but that doesn't do your stomach any good;  
I get my lips dirty, but I'm not full.  
Anyway—have you got oysters? (B.) Lots. (A.) Serve  
me  
a large platter of these all by itself.  
Have you got sea-urchins? (B.) You'll have another  
platter, with these;  
because I bought them myself for eight obols.  
(A.) Serve this dish separately, by itself,



c ἵνα ταῦτ' ἅπαντες, μὴ τὸ μὲν ἐγώ, τὸ δ' ἕτερος. |

Δρομέας δ' ὁ παράσιτος ἐρωτήσαντός τινος αὐτόν, ὥς φησιν ὁ Δελφὸς Ἡγήσανδρος, πότερον ἐν ἄστει γίνεται βελτίῳ δεῖπνα ἢ ἐν Χαλκίδι, τὸ προοίμιον εἶπε τῶν ἐν Χαλκίδι δείπνων χαριέστερον εἶναι τῆς ἐν ἄστει παρασκευῆς, τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὀστρέων καὶ τὴν ποικιλίαν προοίμιον εἰπὼν δείπνον. Δίφιλος δ' ἐν Ἀπολειπούσῃ μάγειρόν τινα παράγων ποιεῖ τάδε λέγοντα·

- d (A.) πόσοι τὸ πλῆθος εἰσιν οἱ κεκλημένοι |  
εἰς τοὺς γάμους, βέλτιστε, καὶ πότερ' Ἀττικοὶ  
ἅπαντες, ἢ κακ' τοῦμπορίου τινές; (B.) τί δαὶ  
τοῦτ' ἐστὶ πρὸς σὲ τὸν μάγειρον; (A.) τῆς τέχνης  
ἡγεμονία τις ἐστὶν αὐτῆς, ὦ πάτερ,  
τὸ τῶν ἐδομένων τὰ στόματα προειδέναι.  
οἶον Ῥοδίους κέκληκας· εἰσιούσι δὸς  
εὐθὺς ἀπὸ θερμοῦ τὴν μεγάλην αὐτοῖς σπάσαι,  
ἀποζέσας σίλουρον ἢ λεβίαν, ἐφ' ᾧ  
e χαριεῖ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ μυρίνην προσεγχεάς. |  
(B.) ἀστεῖον ὁ σιλουρισμός. (A.) ἂν Βυζαντίους,  
ἁψινθίῳ † σφοιῇ † δεῦσον ὅσα γ' ἂν παρατιθῆς,  
κάθαλα ποήσας πάντα κασκοροδισμένα.  
διὰ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἰχθύων

<sup>41</sup> PAA 374610; otherwise unknown.

<sup>42</sup> Athens.

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so that everyone eats the same food, not me one thing and the other fellow something else.

According to Hegesander of Delphi (fr. 10, *FHG* iv.415), when someone asked the parasite Dromeas<sup>41</sup> whether the dinner parties were better in the city<sup>42</sup> or in Chalcis, he said that the prelude to the dinner parties in Chalcis was more delightful than what was prepared in the city, referring to the large quantities of different types of shellfish as “the prelude to dinner.” Diphilus brings a cook onstage in *The Woman Who Wanted To Leave Her Husband* (fr. 17) and represents him as saying the following:

(A.) How many guests have been invited to the wedding feast, my good man? And are they all Athenians, or are some from the merchants’ quarter?

(B.) What’s this to you? You’re the cook. (A.) A fundamental part of my art itself, old sir, is having advance knowledge of the palates of the diners.

You’ve invited Rhodians, for example. The minute they come in, offer them the big cup full of hot wine to suck down, and stew a sheatfish or a *lebias* until it’s perfect; you’ll give him more pleasure this way than if you poured perfumed wine over his hands.

(B.) Very clever, this sheatfish-izing! (A.) If you’ve invited people from Byzantium, soak whatever you serve [corrupt] in wormwood, and season it all with salt and garlic; the fact that they have so many fish in their country

πάντες βλιχανώδεις εἰσὶ καὶ μεστοὶ λάπης.

Μένανδρος δ' ἐν Τροφωνίῳ·

ξένου τὸ δεῖπνόν ἐστιν ὑποδοχή τινος.

ποδαποῦ; διαφέρει τῷ μαγείρῳ τοῦτο γάρ.

οἶον τὰ † μὲν νησιωτικὰ ταυτὶ ξενύδρια,

f ἐν προσφάτοις ἰχθυδίοις τεθραμμένα |

καὶ παντοδαποῖς, τοῖς ἀλμίοις μὲν οὐ πάνν

άλίσκετ', ἀλλ' οὕτως παρέργως ἄπτεται,

τὰς δ' ὀνθυλεύσεις καὶ τὰ κεκαρυκευμένα

μᾶλλον προσεδέξατ'. Ἀρκαδικὸς τὸνναντίον

ἀθάλαττος ἐν τοῖς λοπαδίοις ἀλίσκεται.

Ἰωνικὸς πλούταξ· ὑποστάσεις ποῶ,

133 κάνδανλον, ὑποβινητιῶντα βρώματα. ||

ἐχρῶντο γὰρ οἱ παλαιοὶ καὶ τοῖς εἰς ἀναστόμωσιν  
βρώμασιν ὥσπερ ταῖς ἀλμάσιν ἐλάαις, ἃς κολυμ-  
βάδας καλοῦσιν. Ἀριστοφάνης γοῦν ἐν Γήρᾳ φησὶν·

ὦ πρεσβῦτα, πότερα φιλεῖς τὰς δρυπεπεῖς

ἐταίρας

ἢ τὰς ὑποπαρθένους ἀλμάδας ὡς ἐλάας

στιφράς;

Φιλήμων δ' ἐν Μετιόντι ἢ Ζωμίῳ·

<sup>43</sup> Literally "treated with *karuk(k)ē*," a spicy blood-based Lydian sauce; cf. 4.160a, 172b, 173c–d; 12.516c.

<sup>44</sup> Another proverbially rich Lydian dish; cf. 1.9a; 4.172b

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means they're all clammy and full of phlegm.

Menander in *Trophonius* (fr. 351):

The dinner party is being given for some foreigner;  
but where's he from? Because this matters to a cook.  
These guests from the island †, for example,  
who're brought up on fresh fish  
of every kind, aren't much attracted  
to salted foods, but consume them rather  
indifferently;  
whereas they're more well-disposed to dishes that are  
stuffed  
and richly sauced.<sup>43</sup> An Arcadian, on the other hand,  
isn't familiar with the sea and can be trapped in  
casserole-dishes.  
A rich Ionian fool—I make thick soups  
and *kandaulos*<sup>44</sup>, lecherous foods.

For the ancients used to eat foods intended to whet their  
appetites, such as brined olives, which they refer to  
as *kolumbades* ("swimmers"). Aristophanes, for example,  
says in *Old Age* (fr. 148):

Old man, do you like the tree-ripened<sup>45</sup> prostitutes  
or the preadolescent ones, who are as firm as  
brined olives?

Philemon in *The Man Who Was in Pursuit or Brothlet* (fr.  
42):

(spelled in the late form *kandulos* in both places); 12.516c–17e;  
Arnott on Alex. fr. 178.1.

<sup>45</sup> I.e. "fully mature," and thus "full of wrinkles"; cf. 2.56a–d.

- (A.) ἰχθὺς τί σοι  
ἐφαίνεθ' οὐφθός; (B.) μικρὸς ἦν, ἀκήκοας;  
b ἄλμη τε λευκὴ καὶ παχεῖ' ὑπερβολῇ, |  
κοῦχ' ἰσχυρὰ προσῶζειν οὐδ' ἡδυσμάτων.  
(A.) ἐβόων <δ' > ἅπαντες "ὥς ἀγαθὴν ἄλμην  
ποεῖς".

ἥσθιον δὲ καὶ τέττιγας καὶ κερκώπας ἀναστομώσεως  
χάριν. Ἀριστοφάνης Ἀναγύρω·

πρὸς θεῶν· ἔραμαι τέττιγα φαγεῖν  
καὶ κερκώπην θηρευσαμένην  
καλάμῳ λεπτῷ.

- ἐστὶν δ' ἡ κερκώπη ζῷον ὅμοιον τέττιγι καὶ τιτιγονίῳ,  
ὥς Σπείσιππος παρίστησιν ἐν τετάρτῳ Ὅμοίων. μνη-  
μονεύει αὐτῶν Ἐπίλυκος ἐν Κωραλίσκῳ. Ἀλεξίς ἐν  
c Θράσωνί φησι |

σοῦ δ' ἐγὼ λαλιστέραν  
οὐπώποτ' εἶδον οὔτε κερκώπην, γύναι,  
οὐ κίτταν, οὐκ ἀηδόν', <οὐ χελιδόνα,>  
οὐ τρυγόν', οὐ τέττιγα.

Νικόστρατος δ' ἐν Ἀβρα·

πίναξ ὁ πρῶτος τῶν μεγάλων ἡγήσεται,

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<sup>46</sup> Speusippus (below) identified this as another insect similar to a cicada, but Athenaeus' treatment of the word makes it clear that he had no idea how the two could be distinguished.

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(A.) What did you think of  
the stewed fish? (B.) It was small, do you  
understand?

Also the brine-sauce was white and way too thick;  
and there wasn't any smell of the casserole-dish or of  
spices.

(A.) But they all kept shouting "What a nice brine-  
sauce you make!"

They also ate cicadas (*tettiges*) and *kerkōpai*<sup>46</sup> to whet their  
appetites. Aristophanes in *Anagyros* (fr. 53):<sup>47</sup>

By the gods, I long to eat  
a cicada (*tettix*) and a *kerkōpē* after I've caught them  
with a thin reed.

The *kerkōpē* is a creature that resembles the cicada (*tettix*)  
and the *titigonion*<sup>48</sup>, as Speusippus establishes in Book IV  
of *Similar Things* (fr. 10 Tarán). Epilycus mentions them in  
*The Young Girl* (fr. 5). Alexis says in *Thrason*<sup>49</sup> (fr. 96):

I've never seen  
a greater chatterbox than you, woman—no *kerkōpē*  
or jay or nightingale or swallow  
or turtledove or cicada (*tettix*)!

Nicostratus in *The Slave-Girl*<sup>50</sup> (fr. 1):

The first platter will lead the way for the main dishes,

<sup>47</sup> The first half of the first verse is a parody of E. *Hipp.* 219.

<sup>48</sup> Not attested elsewhere, but probably a diminutive form of a  
word cognate with *tettix*.

<sup>49</sup> A personal name, perhaps of a  
soldier ("Mr. Bold").

<sup>50</sup> For the word, see Photius *a* 50. Al-  
ternatively, the title might be the personal name Habra.

ἔχων ἐχῖνον, ὠμοτάριχον, κάππαριν,  
θρυμματίδα, τέμαχος, βολβὸν ἐν ὑποτρίμματι.

ἽΟτι δ' ἥσθιον διὰ ἀναστόμωσιν καὶ τὰς δι' ὄξους  
d καὶ νάπνος γογγυλίδας σαφῶς παρίστησι | Νίκαν-  
δρος ἐν δευτέρῳ Γεωργικῶν λέγων οὕτως·

γογγυλίδος δισση γὰρ ἰδ' ἐκ ραφάνοιο γενέθλη  
μακρὴ τε στιφρὴ τε φαίνεται ἐν πρασιῇσι.  
καὶ τὰς μέν θ' αὔηνον ἀποπλύνας βορέησι,  
προσφιλέας χειμῶνι καὶ οἰκουροῖσιν ἀεργοῖς·  
θερμοῖς δ' ἱκμανθεῖσαι ἀναζώουσ' ὑδάτεσσι.  
τμήγε δὲ γογγυλίδος ῥίζας κατακαρφέα φλοιὸν  
ἦκα καθηράμενος λεπτουργέας, ἡελίῳ δὲ  
e αὐήνας ἐπὶ τυτθόν, ὅτ' ἐν ζεστῷ ἀποβάπτων |  
ὔδατι, δριμείη πολέας ἐμβάπτισον ἄλμῃ·  
ἄλλοτε δ' αὖ λευκὸν γλεῦκος συστάμνισον ὅξει  
ἴσον ἴσῳ, τὰς δ' ἐντὸς ἐπιστύψας ἀλὶ κρύνψαις.  
πολλάκι δ' ἀσταφίδας προχέας τριπτῆρι λεήναις  
σπέρματά τ' ἐνδάκνοντα σινήπυος. εἰν ἐνὶ δὲ  
τρὺξ  
ὄξεος ἱκμάζουσα καὶ † ὠμοτέρην ἐπὶ κόρσῃν  
f ὠριον ἀλμαίην ἄμνσαι κεχρηόσι δαίτης †. |

<sup>51</sup> See 4.131d n. <sup>52</sup> Three additional verses from the beginning of the fragment are quoted at 9.369b (and cf. 9.366d).

<sup>53</sup> The word normally means “cabbage,” although Nicander would appear to be using it to refer to root-vegetable closely related to a turnip. Cf. 2.57a, where Athenaeus claims that the comic poet Callias used it to mean “radish.”

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with a sea-urchin, raw-saltfish, a caper,  
a *thrummatis*<sup>51</sup>, a fish-steak, and a hyacinth bulb in  
sauce.

That they also ate turnips in vinegar and mustard to  
whet their appetites is clearly established by Nicander in  
Book II of the *Georgics* (fr. 70.4–18 Schneider), where he  
says the following:<sup>52</sup>

For two varieties of turnip (*goggulis*) and  
*rhaphanos*<sup>53</sup>,  
both large and firm, are seen in our vegetable  
gardens.

Wash the latter and dry them in the north winds;  
in the winter they are welcome to those who remain  
idle indoors,  
and when they are soaked in warm water they revive.  
But cut turnip roots into fine slices after you  
gently wash the dry outer skin; dry them  
for a little while in the sun; and then dip a number of  
them  
in boiling water and plunge them into a bitter brine-  
sauce.

Alternatively, mix equal amounts of white grape-must  
and vinegar  
together in a jar, place them inside, and cover them  
with salt.

Often you could grind up raisins and pungent  
mustard-seed with a pestle and pour it over them. At  
the same time  
moist vinegar lees [corrupt and obscure] . . .



Δίφιλος δ' ἢ Σώσιππος ἐν Ἀπολειπούσῃ·

(A.) ἔστιν ἔνδον ὄξος ὀξύ σοι;

(B.) ὑπολαμβάνω, παιδάριον, ὁπὸν εἰλήφαμεν.

ἄριστα τούτοις πάντα πῖέσω καὶ πυκνά.

ἢ φυλλὰς ἢ δριμεία περιοισθήσεται·

τῶν πρεσβυτέρων γὰρ ταῦτα τῶν ἡδυσμάτων

ἀναστομοῖ τάχιστα τᾶσθητήρια,

τό τε νωκαρῶδες καὶ κατημβλυμένον

134 ἐσκέδασε καὶποίησεν ἡδέως φαγεῖν. ||

Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν Ταραντίνοις ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις φησὶ  
τοὺς Ἀττικοὺς καὶ ὀρχεῖσθαι ὑποπιόντας·

(A.) τοῦτο γὰρ νῦν ἐστί σοι

ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ταῖς καλαῖς ἐπιχώριον·

ἅπαντες ὀρχοῦντ' εὐθύς, ἂν οἴνου μόνον

ὁσμὴν ἴδωσιν. (B.) συμφορὰν λέγεις ἄκραν.

(A.) φαίης ἂν, εἰς συμπόσιον εἰσελθὼν ἄφνω.

καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀγενείοις ἴσως ἔπεστί τις

χάρις· ἀλλ' ἐπὰν δὴ τὸν γόητα Θεόδοτον

b ἢ τὸν παραμασύντην ἴδω τὸν ἀνόσιον |

βαυκιζόμενον τὰ λευκά τ' ἀναβάλλονθ' ἄμα,

<sup>54</sup> The items in question are presumably barley-cakes, which were vigorously kneaded before being served.

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Diphilus or Sosippus in *The Woman Who Wanted To Leave Her Husband* (Diph. fr. 18):

(A.) Do you have any sharp vinegar inside?

(B.) I assume, slave, that we have rennet.

I'll press these<sup>54</sup> so they're all good and tight for them.

The bitter salad will be brought around;  
because these spices rapidly excite  
the sense organs of old men,  
and dispel their lethargy and  
stolidity, and make them happy to eat.

Alexis says in *Men from Tarentum* (fr. 224) that the Athenians danced at their symposia after they had a bit to drink:

(A.) Because this is now your  
local custom in lovely Athens:  
they all start dancing immediately, if they get even a  
glimpse  
of the smell of wine. (B.) You're describing a terrible  
misfortune.

(A.) You'd say it was, if you accidentally found  
yourself at a symposium!

For young men there's perhaps a bit of charm  
in it. But when I see the charlatan

Theodotus<sup>55</sup> or the filthy parasite  
dancing like a woman and rolling his eyes so the  
whites show,

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<sup>55</sup> PAA 505150; otherwise unknown and perhaps merely a character in the play, like the "filthy parasite" mentioned below.

ἥδιστ' ἂν ἀναπήξαιμ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου λαβών.

μήποτε δὲ καὶ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Καρσί κατὰ τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθος<sup>1</sup> κωμωδεῖ τινα τῶν σοφῶν ὡς παρὰ δεῖπνον ὀρχούμενον λέγων οὕτως·

οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὀρχούμενον  
ταῖς χερσὶ τὸν βάκηλον; οὐδ' αἰσχύνεται  
ὁ τὸν Ἡράκλειτον πᾶσιν ἐξηγούμενος,  
c ὁ τὴν Θεοδέκτου μόνος ἀνευρηκὼς τέχνην, |  
ὁ τὰ κεφάλαια συγγράφων Εὐριπίδη.

τούτοις οὐδ' ἀναρμόστως ἂν τις ἐπενέγκαι τὰ Ἐρίφω  
τῷ κωμικῷ ἐν Αἰόλῳ εἰρημένα τάδε·

λόγος γάρ ἐστ' ἀρχαῖος οὐ κακῶς ἔχων  
οἶνον λέγουσι τοὺς γέροντας, ὦ πάτερ,  
πείθειν χορεύειν οὐ θέλοντας.

Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ἰσοστάσιόν φησιν·

(A.) ἀπὸ συμβολῶν ἔπινον, ὀρχεῖσθαι μόνον  
d βλέποντες, ἄλλο δ' οὐδέν, ὅψων ὀνόματα |  
καὶ σιτίων ἔχοντες. (B.) ὅψων; (A.) Κάραβος

<sup>1</sup> ἔθος τῆς ὀρχήσεως A

<sup>56</sup> For the stocks (*xulon*), see Olson on Ar. *Pax* 479–80. But the verb (literally “peg him up”) is more appropriate for the method of execution called *apotumpanismos* (cf. 4.166c with n.), in which a malefactor was fastened to a plank (usually *sanis*) and allowed to die slowly; cf. Austin–Olson on Ar. *Th.* 930–1.

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I'd be delighted to take him and clap him in the stocks.<sup>56</sup>

Perhaps Antiphanes as well is referring to the custom in Attica in *Men from Caria* (fr. 111) when he mocks one of the sophists for dancing at a dinner party, saying the following:

Don't you see the  
pansy dancing with his hands? He's not ashamed—  
the man who explains Heracleitus to everyone,  
and is the only person able to make sense of  
Theodectas' art<sup>57</sup>  
and the author of summaries of Euripides.

It would not be inappropriate to add the following remarks made by the comic poet Eriphus in *Aeolus* (fr. 1):

Because there's an old saying, and a good one:  
they say, aged sir, that wine persuades old men  
to dance even when they don't want to.<sup>58</sup>

Alexis says in the play entitled *Isostasion* (fr. 102):

(A.) They were sharing the expense of the drinking,  
with an eye to  
dancing and nothing else; and their names were  
drawn  
from fancy dishes and grainstuffs. (B.) Fancy dishes?  
(A.) Crayfish

<sup>57</sup> Theodectas was a tragic poet (*TrGF* 72), Heraclitus a presocratic philosopher (D-K 22).

<sup>58</sup> For the proverb, cf. 10.428a.

καὶ Κωβιός, Σεμίδαλις.

Ἄττικὸν δὲ δεῖπνον οὐκ ἀχαρίτως διαγράφει Μάτρων ὁ παρωδός, ὅπερ διὰ τὸ σπάνιον οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὁ Πλούταρχος ἔφη, ἀπομνημονεῦσαι

δεῖπνά μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολυτρόφα καὶ μάλα  
πολλά, ἃ Ξενοκλῆς ῥήτωρ ἐν Ἀθήναις δείπνισεν  
e ἡμᾶς. |

ἦλθον γὰρ κακέϊσε, πολὺς δέ μοι ἔσπετο λιμός.  
οὐ δὴ καλλίστους ἄρτους ἴδον ἢ δὲ μεγίστους,  
λευκοτέρους χιόνος, ἔσθειν δ' ἀμύλοισιν ὁμοίους  
τάων καὶ Βορέης ἡράσσατο πεσσομενάων.  
αὐτὸς δὲ Ξενοκλῆς ἐπεπωλεῖτο στίχας ἀνδρῶν,  
στῇ δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' οὐδὸν ἰών· σχεδόθεν δέ οἱ ἦν  
f παράσιτος

Χαιρεφόων, πεινῶντι λάρῳ ὄρνιθι ἐοικώς, |  
νήστης, ἀλλοτρίων εὖ εἰδὼς δειπνοσυνάων.  
τέως δὲ μάγειροι μὲν φόρεον πλησάν τε  
τραπέζας,  
οἷς ἐπιτετράφεται μέγας οὐρανὸς ὀπτανιάων,

<sup>59</sup> Much of the language is borrowed direct from epic or adapts epic formulae.

<sup>60</sup> Xenocles (PAA 732385) and Stratocles (PA 12938; Berve i #724; mentioned below; cf. 6.252f n.) were important late 4th-century Athenian politicians.

<sup>61</sup> A notorious parasite mentioned repeatedly in late 4th-century Athenian sources; cf. 4.164f–5a; 6.242f–4a; etc. A letter by

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and Goby; Durum Wheat.

The parodist Matro (fr. 1 Olson–Sens = *SH* 534) describes an Attic dinner party in quite a witty fashion;<sup>59</sup> I would not hesitate to quote the piece to you, my friends, said Plutarch, on account of its rarity.

Dinners describe to me, Muse, much-nourishing and  
numerous,  
which Xenocles the orator<sup>60</sup> dined us on in Athens—  
for I went there as well, and a great hunger  
accompanied me—  
where indeed I saw very large and lovely loaves of  
bread,  
whiter than snow, with a taste that resembled wheat-  
paste cakes;  
the North Wind fell in love with them as they were  
baking.  
Xenocles himself went about, inspecting the ranks of  
men,  
and came and stood on the threshold. Close by him  
was the parasite  
Chaerephon,<sup>61</sup> a man resembling a hungry sea-gull,  
starving, and well acquainted with other people's  
dining.  
The cooks accordingly began to bring tables and load  
them up;  
to them has been entrusted the great vault of the  
cookhouses,

him that contained an extended description of a dinner party was preserved in the Library in Alexandria (Call. fr. 434, cited at 6.244a).

ἤμ' ἐπισπεῦσαι δείπνου χρόνον ἢδ' ἀναμείναι.  
 ἔνθ' ἄλλοι πάντες λαχάνοις ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἱαλλον,  
 ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐ πιθόμην, ἀλλ' ἥσθιον εἶδατα

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πάντα, ||

βολβοὺς ἀσπάραγόν τε καὶ ὄστρεα μυελόεντα,  
 ὠμοτάριχον ἑὼν χαίρειν, Φοινίκιον ὄψον.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐχίνους ῥῖψα κάρη κομόωντας ἀκάνθαις,  
 οἱ δὲ κυλινδόμενοι καναχὴν ἔχον ἐν ποσὶ παίδων  
 ἐν καθαρῷ, ὅθι κύματ' ἐπ' ἡϊόνος κλύζεσκε·  
 πολλὰς δ' ἐκ κεφαλῆς προθελύμνους εἶλκον  
 ἀκάνθας.

b

ἢ δὲ Φαληρικὴ ἦλθ' ἀφύη, Τρίτωνος ἐταίρη,  
 ἅντα παρειάων σχομένη ῥυπαρὰ κρήδεμνα |

\* \* \*

τοὺς δ' ὁ Κύκλωψ ἐφίλει καὶ ἐν οὔρεσιν  
 ἐξεπεφύκει

\* \* \*

πίννας ἦλθε φέρων † καὶ ἄμυλα † ἠχήμεντα,  
 ἅς κατὰ φυκότριχος πέτρης λευκὸν τρέφει ὕδωρ.

\* \* \*

ψῆττά τε χονδροφυῆς καὶ τρίγλη μιλοπάργης.  
 τῇ δ' ἐγὼ ἐν πρώτοις ἐπέχον κρατερώνυχά χεῖρα,

## BOOK IV

that they might both hasten the dinner-hour and  
patiently await its coming.

Then all the others were putting forth their hands  
upon vegetables;

however I did not follow their example, but was  
eating every sort of food—

hyacinth bulbs, asparagus, and marrowy oysters—  
although having nothing to do with shoulder-cuts of  
saltfish, a Phoenician dish.

As for the sea-urchins with their long, spiny hair, I  
cast them away,

and they produced an uproar as they rolled about  
among the boys' feet,

in an open space, where the sea's waves always wash;  
and I pulled many spines out by their roots from my  
face.

The Phaleric small-fry, Triton's companioness,  
arrived,

holding before her cheeks a dirty veil.

\* \* \*

these the Cyclops used to love, and produced them in  
the mountains.

\* \* \*

(A cook) came carrying fan-mussels † and echoing  
wheat-paste cakes †,

which the clear water nourishes (as they hang) down  
from a rock with seaweed hair

\* \* \*

and the cartilaginous flat-fish, and the carmine-  
cheeked red mullet.

I was among the first to put a strong-clawed hand to  
it,



οὐδ' ἔφθην τρώσας μιν, ἄασε <δὲ> Φοῖβος  
Ἀπόλλων.

ὥς <δὲ> ἴδον Στρατοκλῆ, κρατερὸν μήστωρα  
c φόβοιο, |

τρίγλης ἵπποδάμοιο κάρη μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχοντα,  
ἄψ δ' ἐλόμην χάρμη, λαιμὸν δ' ἄπληστον ἄμυξα.  
ἦλθε δὲ Νηρῆος θυγάτηρ, Θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα,  
σηπίη εὐπλόκαμος, δεινὴ θεὸς αὐδήεσσα,  
ἣ μόνη ἰχθὺς ἐοῦσα τὸ λευκὸν καὶ μέλαν οἶδε.  
καὶ Τιτυὸν εἶδον, λίμνης ἐρικυδέα γόγγρον,  
κείμενον ἐν λοπάδεσσ'· ὁ δ' ἐπ' ἐννέα κείμε  
τραπέζας.

d τῷ δὲ μετ' ἵχνια βαῖνε θεὰ λευκώλενος ἰχθὺς |  
ἔγχευς, ἣ Διὸς εὐχετ' ἐν ἀγκοίνῃσι μιγῆναι,  
ἐκ Κωπῶν, ὅθεν ἐγχέλεων γένος ἀγροτεράων,  
παμμεγέθης, ἣν οὐ κε δύ' ἀνέρες ἀθλητῆρες,  
οἷοι ἄρ' Ἀστυάναξ τε καὶ Ἀντήνωρ ἐγένοντο,  
ῥηιδίως ἐπ' ἄμαξαν ἀπ' οὐδεὸς ὀχλίσσειαν·  
τρισπίθαμοι γὰρ ταί γε καὶ ἐννεαπήχεες ἦσαν  
εὖρος, ἀτὰρ μῆκός γε γενέσθην ἐννεόργυιοι.  
πολλὰ δ' ἄναντα κάταντα κατὰ στίχος ἦλθ' ὁ  
μάγειρος,

e σείων ὀψοφόρους πίνακας κατὰ δεξιὸν ὦμον. |  
τῷ δ' ἄμα τεσσαράκοντα μέλαιναί χύτραι  
ἔποντο,  
αὐτὰρ ἀπ' Εὐβοίης λοπάδες τόσαι ἐστιχόωντο.

<sup>62</sup> Astyanax (Moretti #470, 474, 479; see 10.413a–b with n.)

## BOOK IV

although I did not wound it before the others; for  
Phoebus Apollo led me wrong.  
But when I saw Stratocles, the powerful raiser of fear,  
holding the head of the horse-mastering red mullet in  
his hands,  
I snatched it back with martial ardor, and scratched  
his insatiable gullet.  
The daughter of Nereus, silver-footed Thetis, arrived,  
the cuttlefish fair-tressed, a fearful goddess able to  
speak,  
the only fish who knows white from black.  
I also saw Tityus, the famed conger eel of the sea,  
lying in stewing-pots; he lay over nine tables.  
In his tracks came a white-armed goddess-fish,  
the eel, who claims to have spent time in the arms of  
Zeus.  
She was from Copais, whence comes the race of wild  
eels,  
and was very large; not even two athletes,  
men such as Astyanax and Antenor<sup>62</sup> were,  
could easily have lifted her onto a cart from the earth;  
for they were three spans and nine cubits  
wide, and nine fathoms in length.  
The cook went repeatedly up and down the ranks,  
brandishing serving-platters loaded with side-dishes  
over his right shoulder.  
Forty black cookpots followed along with him,  
while from Euboea an equal number of casserole-  
dishes were drawn up in a line.

and Antenor (PAA 131460; Moretti #488; see 13.578f-9a), both of Miletus, were famous late 4th-century pancratiasts.

Ἴρις δ' ἄγγελος ἦλθε ποδήνεμος, ὠκέα τευθίς,  
 πέρκη τ' ἀνθεσίχρως καὶ ὁ δημοτικὸς  
 μελάνουρος,

ὃς καὶ θνητὸς ἐὼν ἔπετ' ἰχθύσιν ἀθανάτοισιν.  
 οἷη δ' αὖ θύννου κεφαλὴ θαλαμηιάδαο  
 νόσφιν ἀφειστήκει, κεχολωμένη εἵνεκα τευχέων  
 f αἰρομένων· τὸ δὲ πῆμα θεοὶ θέσαν ἀνθρώποισι. |  
 ῥίνη δ', ἣν φιλέουσι περισσῶς τέκτονες ἄνδρες,  
 τρηχεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος· ἥ γὰρ ἔγωγε  
 ἧς σαρκὸς δύναμαι γλυκερώτερον ἄλλο ἰδέσθαι.  
 ὀπταλέος δ' εἰσῆλθε πελώριος ἵπποτα κεστρεύς,  
 οὐκ οἶος· ἅμα τῷ γε δυνώδεκα σαργοὶ ἔποντο·  
 κυανόχρως δ' ἀμίας ἐπὶ τοῖς μέγας, ὃς τε  
 θαλάσσης

136 πάσης βένθεα οἶδε, Ποσειδάωνος ὑποδμῶς, ||  
 καρῖδές θ', αἱ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου εἰσὶν αἰδοί,  
 αἱ δὲ γήραϊ κυφαὶ ἔσαν, χρησταὶ δὲ πάσασθαι.  
 χρύσοφρυς, ὃς κάλλιστος ἐν ἄλλοις ἵσταται  
 ἰχθύς,

κάραβος, ἀστακὸς αὖτε λιλαίετο θωρήσσεσθαι  
 ἐν μακάρων δείπνοις. τοῖς δαιτυμόνες χέρ'  
 ἐφέντες

ἐν στόμασιν <τ'> ἔθεσαν καὶ ἀπήγαγον ἄλλυδιν  
 ἄλλον.

b τῶν δ' ἄρ' ἔλοψ κρείων δουρικλυτὸς ἡγεμόνευεν, |  
 οὗ πλήρης περ ἐὼν κρατερῶς παλάμη ἐπορέχθην

## BOOK IV

Iris the wind-footed messenger came in, the swift  
squid,  
and the sea-perch with her brightly colored flesh, and  
the popular saddled bream,  
which, although mortal, follows immortal fish.  
Only the head of the tuna, Son of Fish-lair,  
stood apart, angry on account of the gear  
taken from him; the gods made this a grief for men.  
Also the monkfish, of which craftsmen are  
extraordinarily fond;  
it is rough but good for nourishing young men. I  
myself  
can envision other foods more pleasant than its flesh.  
An enormous horseman, the roasted gray mullet,  
came in,  
but not alone; twelve sargues followed along with it.  
After these came a large, blue-hued bonito, who  
knows  
the depths of the entire sea and is Poseidon's servant,  
and prawns, which are the singers of Olympian Zeus;  
they were bent with old age, but were good for  
eating.  
A gilthead, which is the loveliest fish among them all,  
(and) a crayfish; a lobster too was eager to take a  
valiant part  
in the banquets of the blessed. The diners laid their  
hands on these foods,  
and put them in their mouths and took them off in  
various directions.  
Lord Sturgeon, famous for his spear, was their leader;  
although full, I reached out forcefully for him with  
my hand,

γεύσασθ' ἰμείρων· τὸ δέ γ' ἄμβροσίη μοι ἔδοξεν,  
οἷν δαίνυνται μάκαρες θεοὶ αἰὲν ἑόντες.

μύραιναι δ' ἐπέθηκε φέρων, τὸ κάλυμμα  
τραπέζης,

ζώνην θ', ἣν φορέεσκεν ἀγαλλομένη περὶ δειρήν,  
εἰς λέχος ἡνίκ' ἔβαινε Δρακοντιάδῃ μεγαθύμῳ.

c σάνδαλα δ' αὖ παρέθηκεν ἀειγενῇ ἀθανατάων, |  
βούγλωσσόν <θ>, ὃς ἔναιεν ἐν ἄλμῃ

μορμυρούσῃ,  
κίχλας δ' ἐξείης ἡβήτορας ὑψιπετήεις  
καὶ πέτρας κάτα βοσκομένας, ὑάδας θ'  
ὑδατινοὺς.

ἐν δ' ἀναμῖξ σαργοί τε καὶ ἵππουροι γλάνιές τε,  
μόρμυρος, † ἅντα δ' ἦν μεγάλη † σπάρος· οὓς ὁ  
μάγειρος

σίζοντας παρέθηκε φέρων, κνίσωσε δὲ δῶμα.

d τῶν ἔλεγεν δαίνυσθαι· ἐμοὶ δέ γε θηλυτεράων  
εἶναι βρώματ' ἔδοξεν, ἐπεὶ ῥ' ὄρμαινον ἐπ' ἄλλα. |  
κεῖτο δέ τις βατάνη, τῆς οὐδεὶς ἤπτετο δειπνῶν,  
ἐν καθαρῷ ὅθι περ λοπάδων διεφαίνετο χῶρος,  
ἐξ ἧς κόσσυφος ἦλθε μόνος γεύσασθαι ἕτοιμος·

## BOOK IV

eager to have a taste. This seemed to me to be  
ambrosia

of the sort the blessed gods who live forever dine  
upon.

(A cook) brought and served a moray eel, the table's  
veil,

along with her belt, which she used to wear with  
pride about her neck

when she went off to bed with the great-hearted Son  
of Serpent.

Next he served eternal sandals belonging to  
goddesses,

that is to say a *bouglōssos*, which haunted the roiling  
brine,

and immediately after these plump thrush-fish, high-  
flying

and feeding among the rocks, watery pig-fish,

and a jumble of sargues, dolphin-fish, and eels;

a marmora, † and opposite it was a great † bream.

These the cook

brought and served sizzling, and filled the house with  
steam.

He told us to eat some of them; but to me these  
seemed to be

women's food, for I was inclined toward other foods.

A casserole-dish, which no-one was laying hands on  
as he dined, lay there

in a clear spot, where a space appeared among the  
cookpots,

and out of it came a single blackbird, ready to be  
tasted.

οὐ μὲν οὐδ' ἄρ' ἄθικτος ἔην, πόθεον δὲ καὶ  
ἄλλοι.

κωλῆν δ' ὡς εἶδον, ὡς ἔτρεμον· ἐν δὲ σίναπυ  
† κείτ' ἀγχοῦ γλυκὺ πλείονα χρυσὸς ὦν  
ἀπερύκων. †

γευσάμενος δ' ἔκλαιον, ὃ τ' αὔριον οὐκέτι ταῦτα  
e ὄψομαι, ἀλλὰ με τυρῶ δεῖ καὶ μάζη ὀτρηρῇ |  
\* \* \*

νηδὺς δ' οὐχ ὑπέμεινε, βιάζετο γὰρ ἀδέεσσι  
δάμνα μιν ζωμός τε μέλας ἀκροκώλιά θ' ἐφθά.  
παῖς δέ τις ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν τρισκαίδεκα  
νήσας,

λίμνης ἐξ ἱερῆς, μάλα πίονας, ἃς ὁ μάγειρος  
θῆκε φέρων ἱν' Ἀθηναίων κατέκειντο φάλαγγες.  
Χαιρεφώων δ' ἐνόησεν ἅμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω  
f ὄρνιθας γνῶναι καὶ ἐναίσιμα σιτίζεσθαι. |  
ἦσθιε δ' ὥστε λέων, παλάμη δ' ἔχε τὸ σκέλος  
ἀμνοῦ,

ὄφρα οἱ οἴκαδ' ἰόντι πάλιν ποτιδόρπιον εἴη.  
χόνδρος δ' ἠδυνπρόσωπος, ὃν Ἥφαιστος κάμεν  
ἔψων,

Ἀττικῶ ἐν κεράμῳ πέσσω τρισκαίδεκα μῆνας.  
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δόρπιοι μελίφρονος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο,  
χεῖρας νυψαμένοισιν ἀπ' Ὀκεανοῖο ῥοάων  
137 ὠραῖος παῖς ἦλθε φέρων μύρον ἱρινον ἠδύ, ||

## BOOK IV

Nor was it in fact untouched, and others as well  
desired it.

But when I saw the ham, how I began to tremble; in  
mustard

† it lay nearby sweet more being gold keeping off †.

I began to wail when I tasted it, since I would no  
longer see these foods

on the morrow, but on cheese and servile bread  
would have to

\* \* \*

My stomach did not endure this, for it was hard-  
pressed by fullness;

black broth and boiled pigs' trotters were overcoming  
it.

A slave brought thirteen ducks from Salamis,  
from the sacred sea, very fat ones, which the cook  
served where the ranks of Athenians were reclining.  
Chaerephon looked back and forth at the same time  
to recognize the birds and feed on what was allotted  
him.

He ate like a lion and held a lamb's leg in his hand,  
in order that it might serve as his dinner when he  
went home.

Also sweet-faced wheat porridge, which Hephaestus  
worked to boil,

cooking it for thirteen months in an Attic pot.

But when they had put away desire for delightful  
dinner

and had washed their hands, from the streams of  
Ocean

came a lovely boy, bringing sweet iris-scented oil.



# ATHENAEUS

ἄλλος δ' αὖ στεφάνους ἐπὶ δεξιὰ πᾶσιν ἔδωκεν,  
οἱ ῥόδον ἀμφεπλέκοντο διάνδιχα κοσμηθέντες.  
κρητὴρ δὲ Βρομίου ἐκεράννυτο, πίνετο δ' οἶνος  
Λέσβιος, οὗ δὴ πλείστον ἀνὴρ ὑπὲρ ἄνδρα  
πεπώκει.

- b δέυτεραι αὖτε τράπεζαι ἐφωπλίζοντο γέμουσαι |  
ἐν δ' αὐταῖσιν ἐπὴν ἄπιοι καὶ πίονα μῆλα,  
ῥοιαί τε σταφυλαί τε, θεοῦ Βρομίου τιθῆναι

\* \* \*

πρόσφατος, ἣν θ' ἀμάμαξυν ἐπὶ κλησιν καλέουσι.  
τῶν δ' ἐγὼ οὐδενὸς ἦσθον ἀπλῶς, μεστὸς δ'  
ἀνεκείμην.

ὥς δὲ ἴδον ξανθὸν γλυκερὸν μέγαν ἔγκυκλον,  
ἄνδρες,

- c Δῆμητρος παῖδ' ὀπτὸν ἐπεισελθόντα πλακοῦντα, |  
πῶς ἂν ἔπειτα πλακοῦντος ἐγὼ θείου ἀπεχοίμην;  
οὐδ' εἴ μοι δέκα μὲν χεῖρες, δέκα δὲ στόματ'  
εἶεν,

γαστήρ δ' ἄρρηκτος, χάλκεον δέ μοι ἦτορ ἐνείη.  
πόρναι δ' εἰσῆλθον, κοῦραι δύο θαυματοποιοί,  
ἄς Στρατοκλῆς ἤλαυνε ποδώκεας ὄρνιθας ὥς.

Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν Συντρέχουσιν ἐπισκώπτων τὰ Ἀττικά  
δείπνά φησιν·

- d ἔγωγε δύο λαβεῖν μαγείρους βούλομαι |

## BOOK IV

Another distributed garlands to everyone from right  
to left;  
they were intertwined with roses, ornamented in two  
ways.

A bowl of Bromius was mixed and Lesbian wine  
was drunk; each man had drunk more of this than his  
neighbor.

Next the second tables, loaded with food, were fitted  
out.

On them were pears and fat apples,  
pomegranates and grape clusters, the nurses of  
Bromius

\* \* \*

freshly picked, which they call by the nickname  
*hamamaxus*.

I ate none of these foods whatsoever, but lay there  
stuffed.

But, gentlemen, when I saw the tawny, sweet, big,  
circular,

roasted child of Demeter entering—that is, the flat-  
cake—

how then could I keep away from the divine flat-  
cake?

Not even did I have ten hands and ten mouths,  
and were my stomach impervious and my heart  
within made of bronze.

Whores came in, two wonder-working girls,  
whom Stratocles was driving like fast-legged birds.

Alexis mocks Attic dinner parties in *Men Who Agree* (fr.  
216), saying:

I want to hire the two cleverest

οὓς ἂν σοφωτάτους δύνωμ' ἐν τῇ πόλει.  
 μέλλοντα δειπνίζειν γὰρ ἄνδρα Θετταλὸν  
 οὐκ Ἀττικηρῶς οὐδ' ἀπηκριβωμένως  
 † λιμῶ παρελθεῖν ἃ δεῖ καθ' ἐν  
 ἕκαστον αὐτοῖς παρατιθέντα μεγαλείως δέ †.

εὐτράπεζοι δ' εἰσὶν ὄντως οἱ Θετταλοί, καθὰ καὶ Ἑρι-  
 φός φησιν ἐν Πελταστῇ οὕτως·

τάδ' οὐ Κόρινθος οὐδὲ Λαῖς, ὦ Σύρε,  
 οὐδ' εὐτραπέζων Θετταλῶν ξένων τροφαί,  
 e ὧν οὐκ ἄμοιρος ἦδε χεῖρ ἐγίνετο. |

ὁ δὲ τοὺς εἰς Χιωνίδην ἀναφερομένους Πτωχοὺς ποι-  
 ῆσας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους φησὶν, ὅταν τοῖς Διοσκούροις  
 ἐν πρυτανείῳ ἄριστον προτιθῶνται, ἐπὶ τῶν τραπέζων  
 τιθέναι τυρὸν καὶ φυστὴν δρυπεπεῖς τ' ἐλάας καὶ  
 πράσα, ὑπόμνησιν ποιουμένους τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀγωγῆς.  
 Σόλων δὲ τοῖς ἐν πρυτανείῳ σιτουμένοις μᾶζαν παρ-  
 ἔχειν κελεύει, ἄρτον δὲ ταῖς ἐορταῖς προσπαρατιθέναι,  
 μιμούμενος τὸν Ὅμηρον. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος τοὺς ἀρι-  
 f στείς συνάγων πρὸς τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα | φύρετο δ'  
 ἄλφιτα φησὶν. Χρύσιππός τ' ἐν τετάρτῳ Περὶ τοῦ

<sup>63</sup> Corinth was well-known for its prostitutes, at least two of whom were named Laïs; cf. 13.570d–e (citing Anaxandr. fr. 9), 586e and 592c (both citing the same speech by Lysias); Ar. Pl. 179. Syrus is a common comic slave-name.

<sup>64</sup> A reference to the ritual of *theoxenia*, in which a god was entertained at a banquet; cf. 6.239b–c (citing Diod. Com. fr. 2); Pi.

## BOOK IV

cooks I can find in the city.

Because when you're going to entertain a Thessalian  
not in the Attic way or with precisely measured  
portions,

† with hunger to evade what's necessary one  
item at a time served to them but magnificently †.

The Thessalians do in fact set a fine table, as Eriphus says  
in *The Peltast* (fr. 6), putting it thus:

This isn't Corinth or Laïs,<sup>63</sup> Syrus,  
or the food served by gourmandizing Thessalian  
hosts,  
which this hand never lacked a share of.

The author of *The Beggars*, which is attributed to Chionides (fr. 7), says that when the Athenians serve lunch to the Dioscuri in the Prytaneion<sup>64</sup>, they place cheese, a barley-cake (*phustē*)<sup>65</sup>, tree-ripened olives, and leeks on the tables, as a reminder of their ancient way of life. But Solon (fr. 89 Ruschenbusch) orders them to provide those who get their meals in the Prytaneion<sup>66</sup> with a barley-cake, and to add a loaf of bread on festival days. He is imitating Homer (*Cypr.* fr. dub. 38 Bernabé); for when he assembles the nobles to meet Agamemnon, he says that barley groats were kneaded. Chrysippus in Book IV of *On the Good and*

O. 3.1. Nothing else is known about the meal given in honor of the Dioscuri in Athens. For the Prytaneion, see 1.32a n.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. 3.114e–f.

<sup>66</sup> I.e. various state officials, official state guests, and citizens who had for one reason or another been honored with perpetual maintenance there, such as the descendants of the tyrannicides Harmodius and Aristogeiton.

Καλοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἡδονῆς φησιν· ἐν Ἀθήναις δὲ ἱστο-  
 ροῦσιν οὐ πᾶν ἀρχαίων δυεῖν γινομένων δείπνων ἐν  
 Λυκείῳ τε καὶ Ἀκαδημείᾳ, τοῦ μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀκαδήμειαν  
 εἰσενέγκαντος ὀψοποιοῦ λοπάδα πρὸς ἑτέραν τινὰ  
 χρεῖαν τὸν κέραμον κατὰξαι πάντα τοὺς ἱεροποιούς  
 ὥς<sup>2</sup> οὐκ ἀστείας παρεισδύσεως γινομένης, δέοντος  
 ἀπέχεσθαι τούτων <τῶν> μακρόθεν· τὸν δ' ἐν τῷ Λυ-  
 κείῳ κρέας<sup>3</sup> εἰς τάριχος διασκευάσαντα μαστιγωθῆ-  
 ναι ὡς παρασοφιζόμενον πονηρῶς. Πλάτων || δ' ἐν  
 δευτέρῳ Πολιτείας οὕτως ἐστιᾷ τοὺς αὐτοῦ νεοπολί-  
 τας, γράφων· “ἀνευ ὄψου,” ἔφη, “ὡς ἔοικας, ποιεῖς τοὺς  
 ἄνδρας ἐστιωμένους.” “ἀληθῆ,” “ἦν δ' ἐγώ,” λέγεις.  
 ἐπελαθόμην ὅτι καὶ ὄψον ἔξουσιν, ἅλας τε δηλονότι  
 καὶ ἐλαίας καὶ τυρόν· καὶ βολβοὺς καὶ λάχανά γε οἷα  
 δὴ ἐν ἀγροῖς ἐφήματα ἐφήσονται. καὶ τραγήματά που  
 παραθήσομεν αὐτοῖς τῶν τε σύκων καὶ ἐρεβίνθων καὶ  
 κυάμων, καὶ μύρτα καὶ φηγοὺς σποδιοῦσι πρὸς τὸ  
 πῦρ μετρίως ὑποπίνοντες. καὶ οὕτως διάγοντες τὸν  
 βίον | ἐν εἰρήνῃ μετὰ ὑγιείας, ὡς εἰκός, γηραιοὶ  
 τελευτῶντες ἄλλον τοιοῦτον βίον τοῖς ἐκγόνοις παρα-  
 δώσουσιν.”

Ἐξῆς δὲ λεκτέον καὶ περὶ τῶν Λακωνικῶν συμπο-  
 σίων. Ἡρόδοτος μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν

<sup>2</sup> ὡς μακρόθεν ACE

<sup>3</sup> κρέας ταριχηρὸν ACE

<sup>67</sup> Two of Athens' gymnasia, and the spots where the schools of Aristotle and Plato, respectively, were located.

## BOOK IV

Pleasure (xxviii fr. 3, *SVF* iii.198–9) says: It is a matter of historical record that two dinner parties, neither particularly ancient, take place in Athens, in the Lyceum and the Academy,<sup>67</sup> and that when a cook brought a casserole-dish intended for another purpose into the Academy, the officials in charge of the rite smashed all his pots, on the grounds that the introduction was contrary to civic practice and that it was necessary to avoid these foreign manners, while the cook who prepared meat in the Lyceum so that it resembled saltfish was whipped for making an unfortunate attempt at excessive cleverness. And Plato in Book II of his *Republic* (372c–d) feasts the citizens of his new state this way when he writes: “Apparently,” he said, “you’re describing your men as feasting without any *opson*<sup>68</sup>!” “You’re right,” I said. “I forgot that they’ll also have *opsa*: salt, of course, and olives, and cheese; and they’ll stew hyacinth bulbs and whatever wild vegetables can be cooked this way. As for snacks, I suppose, we’ll serve them some figs, chickpeas, and fava beans; and they’ll toast myrtle berries and acorns in the fire as they drink a little wine. So they’ll live in peace and good health and, most likely, die as old men and pass a similar lifestyle on to their descendants.”

The next topic that requires discussion is Spartan symposia. Now Herodotus in Book IX (82) of his *Histories*<sup>69</sup>

<sup>68</sup> See 3.125e n.; 4.141b.

<sup>69</sup> The Greek has been Atticized and many details of the narrative modified. A very similar anecdote, but involving different characters, is preserved at 4.150b–c. Mardonius was Xerxes’ most important commander.

- περὶ τῆς Μαρδονίου παρασκευῆς λέγων καὶ μνημονεύσας Λακωνικῶν συμποσίων φησί· Ξέρξης φεύγων ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Μαρδονίῳ τὴν παρασκευὴν κατέλιπε τὴν αὐτοῦ. Πανσανίαν οὖν ἰδόντα τὴν τοῦ Μαρδονίου παρασκευὴν χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ παραπετάσμασι  
 c ποικίλοις κατεσκευασμένην | κελεῦσαι τοὺς ἀρτοποιοὺς καὶ ὀψοποιοὺς κατὰ ταῦτα καθὼς Μαρδονίῳ δεῖπνον παρασκευάσαι. ποιησάντων δὲ τούτων τὰ κελευσθέντα τὸν Πανσανίαν ἰδόντα κλίνας χρυσᾶς καὶ ἀργυρᾶς ἐστρωμένας καὶ τραπέζας ἀργυρᾶς καὶ παρασκευὴν μεγαλοπρεπῇ δεῖπνου ἐκπλαγέντα τὰ προκείμενα κελεῦσαι ἐπὶ γέλῳ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ διακόνοις παρασκευάσαι Λακωνικὸν δεῖπνον. καὶ παρασκευασθέντος γελάσας ὁ Πανσανίας μετεπέμψατο τῶν  
 d Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγοὺς | καὶ ἐλθόντων ἐπιδείξας ἑκατέρου τῶν δεῖπνων τὴν παρασκευὴν εἶπεν· “ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, συνήγαγον ὑμᾶς βουλόμενος ἐπιδείξαι τοῦ Μήδων ἡγεμόνος τὴν ἀφροσύνην, ὅς τοιαύτην δίαιταν ἔχων ἦλθεν ὡς ἡμᾶς οὕτω ταλαίπωρον ἔχοντας.” φασὶ δέ τινες καὶ ἄνδρα Συβαρίτην ἐπιδημήσαντα τῇ Σπάρτῃ καὶ συνεστιαθέντα ἐν τοῖς φιδιτίοις εἰπεῖν· “εἰκότως ἀνδρειότατοι ἀπάντων εἰσὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ἔλοιτο γὰρ <ἄν> τις εὖ φρονῶν μυριάκις ἀποθανεῖν ἢ  
 e οὕτως εὐτελοῦς | διαίτης μεταλαβεῖν.”

Πολέμων δ' ἐν τῷ Παρὰ Ξενοφῶντι Κανάθρῳ τοῦ παρὰ Λάκωσι καλουμένου δεῖπνου κοπίδος μνημονεύοντα Κρατῖνον ἐν Πλούτοις λέγειν·



## BOOK IV

describes Mardonius' personal property and mentions Spartan symposia, saying: When Xerxes was fleeing Greece, he left his personal property to Mardonius. So when Pausanias saw Mardonius' property, which was adorned with gold and silver and embroidered tapestries, he ordered the bakers and cooks to prepare a dinner exactly as they did for Mardonius. They did what they were told; and when Pausanias saw the gold and silver couches covered with bed-clothes, the silver tables, and the ostentatious preparations for dinner, he was astonished at what lay before him, and as a joke he ordered his own attendants to prepare a Spartan dinner. When it was ready, Pausanias laughed and sent for the Greek generals. When they arrived, he showed them how each dinner had been prepared and said: "Greek sirs, I assembled you because I wanted to show you the folly of the Median commander who, although he lives like this, attacked us, who are so poor." Some authorities also report that a Sybarite<sup>70</sup> who had spent time in Sparta and eaten with them in the public messes said: "It's no surprise that the Spartans are the bravest men there are; anyone with any sense would rather die a million times than share such a miserable life!"

Polemon in his *On the Carriage Fitted with Wickerwork in Xenophon* (fr. 86 Preller, referring to X. Ages. 8.7) [reports] that Cratinus mentions the Spartan dinner called a *kopis* in *Gods of Wealth* (fr. 175), where he says:

<sup>70</sup> The city of Sybaris in Southern Italy was notorious for wealth and luxury.



ἄρ' ἀληθῶς τοῖς ξένοισιν ἔστιν, ὡς λέγουσ', ἐκεῖ  
πᾶσι τοῖς ἐλθοῦσιν ἐν τῇ κοπίδι θοινᾶσθαι

καλῶς;

ἐν δὲ ταῖς λέσχαισι φύσκει

προσπεπατταλευμένοι

f κατακρέμανται τοῖσι πρεσβύταισιν ἀποδάκνειν |  
ὁδάξ;

καὶ Εὐπολις ἐν Εἰλωσι·

αἶ κα γένηται τοῦδε σάμερον κοπίς.

δεῖπνον δ' ἐστὶν ἰδίως ἔχον ἢ κοπίς, καθάπερ καὶ τὸ  
καλούμενον αἰκλον. ἐπὴν δὲ κοπίζωσι, πρῶτον μὲν δὴ  
σκηναὶς ποιοῦνται παρὰ τὸν θεόν, ἐν δὲ ταύταις στι-  
βάδας ἐξ ὕλης, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων δάπιδας ὑποστρων-  
νύουσιν, ἐφ' αἷς τοὺς κατακλιθέντας εὐωχοῦσιν οὐ  
μόνον τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἡμεδαπῆς ἀφικνουμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
τοὺς ἐπιδημήσαντας τῶν ξένων. θύουσι δ' ἐν ταῖς  
139 κοπίσιν αἶγας, ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲν ἱερεῖον· || καὶ τῶν κρεῶν  
διδόασιν μοίρας πᾶσι καὶ τὸν καλούμενον φυσίκιλλον,  
ὅς ἐστιν ἀρτίσκος ἐγκρίδι παραπλήσιος, γογγυλῶτε-  
ρος δὲ τὴν ιδέα. διδόασιν τῶν συνιόντων ἐκάστω  
τυρὸν χλωρὸν καὶ γαστρὸς καὶ φύσκης τόμον καὶ  
τραγήματα σῦκά τε ξηρὰ καὶ κυάμους καὶ φασήλους  
χλωρούς. κοπίζει δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Σπαρτιατῶν ὁ  
βουλόμενος. ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει κοπίδας ἄγουσι καὶ τοῖς  
Τιθηνιδίοις καλουμένοις ὑπὲρ τῶν παίδων· κομίζουσι  
γὰρ αἱ τιτθαὶ τὰ ἄρρενα παιδιά κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν

## BOOK IV

Is it true, as people say, that every stranger  
who goes there is offered a fine feast at the *kopis*?  
And that sausages (*phuskai*)<sup>71</sup> hang from pegs  
in the public buildings for old men to bite off with  
their teeth?

Also Eupolis in *Helots* (fr. 147):

if a *kopis* is held this very day.<sup>72</sup>

A *kopis* is a distinct sort of dinner, as is the so-called *aiklon*. When they hold a *kopis*, they begin by erecting tents in the god's sanctuary; they make beds of brushwood inside and spread carpets over them, and provide a feast for anyone who lies down on them, not just visitors from our country<sup>73</sup> but any foreigners who are present. They sacrifice goats at the *kopides* but nothing else; they give everyone a share of the meat as well as the so-called *phusikillos*, which is a small loaf of bread that resembles an *enkris* ("oil-and-honey-cake")<sup>74</sup> but is more rounded. They offer everyone who attends green cheese and a slice of stomach-sausage and large-intestine-sausage; for snacks they offer dried figs, fava beans, and green *phasēloi*.<sup>75</sup> Any other Spartiate who wishes to participate can do so as well. They also celebrate *kopides* in their city at what is called the Tithēnidia, which is celebrated for the sake of their children; because their nurses (*tithai*) take the boys into the countryside at

<sup>71</sup> See 4.131d n., and cf. below.

<sup>72</sup> Spoken in Doric dialect (appropriate for a Spartan).

<sup>73</sup> Probably Rome, in which case Polemon (who was from Ilium) is momentarily no longer being quoted.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. 3.110b with n. <sup>75</sup> See 2.56a with n., where this information is specifically said to be drawn from Polemon.

- b τοῦτον εἰς ἀγρὸν πρὸς | τὴν Κορυθαλίαν καλουμένην Ἄρτεμιν, ἧς τὸ ἱερὸν παρὰ τὴν καλουμένην Τίασσὸν ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τὴν Κλήταν μέρεσι. <καὶ ταύτας> τὰς κοπίδας παραπλησίως ταῖς λελεγμέναις ἐπιτελοῦσι. θύουσι δὲ καὶ τοὺς γαλαθηνοὺς ὀρθαγορίσκους καὶ παρατιθέασιν ἐν τῇ θοίνῃ τοὺς ἱπνίτας ἄρτους. ὅτι αἰκλον ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων Δωριέων καλεῖται τὸ δεῖπνον. Ἐπίχαρμος γοῦν ἐν Ἑλπίδι φησίν·

ἐκάλεσε γάρ τυ τις  
ἐπ' αἰκλον ἀέκων· τὸ δὲ ἐκὼν ὥχαιο τρέχων.

- c τὰ αὐτὰ εἶρηκε καὶ ἐν Περιάλλῳ. | ἐν δὲ τῇ Λακεδαίμονι τοῖς εἰσιούσιν εἰς τὸ φιδίτιον μετὰ δεῖπνον τὸ καλούμενον αἰκλον εἰσφέρουσιν ἄρτους ἐν ἀρριχίδι καὶ κρέας ἐκάστω, καὶ τῷ νέμοντι τὰς μοίρας ἀκολουθῶν ὁ διάκονος κηρύττει τὸ αἰκλον προστιθεὶς τοῦ πέμψαντος τὴν ὀνομασίαν.

- Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Πολέμων· πρὸς ὃν ἀντιλέγων Δίδυμος ὁ γραμματικός—καλεῖ δὲ τοῦτον Δημήτριος ὁ Τροιζήνιος βιβλιολάθαν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ὧν ἐκδέδωκε συγγραμμάτων· ἐστὶ γὰρ τρισχίλια πρὸς τοῖς πεντακοσίοις—φησὶ τάδε· Πολυκράτης, | φησί, ἐν τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς ἱστορεῖ ὅτι τὴν μὲν τῶν Ἑτακινθίων θυσίαν οἱ Λάκωνες ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας συντελοῦσι καὶ διὰ τὸ πένθος τὸ γενόμενον περὶ τὸν Ἑτακινθον οὔτε στεφανοῦνται ἐπὶ τοῖς δεῖπνοις οὔτε ἄρτον εἰσφέρουσιν,

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Paus. 3.18.6.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. 4.140b.

## BOOK IV

this time to Artemis Koruthalia, whose temple is located beside [the torrent-stream] known as Tiassos in the area called Cleta.<sup>76</sup> They celebrate these *kopides* in a way similar to those discussed earlier, but they also sacrifice suckling pigs (*orthagoriskoi*)<sup>77</sup> and serve oven-bread<sup>78</sup> at the meal. This dinner is referred to as an *aiklon* by the other Dorians. Epicharmus, for example, says in *Hope*<sup>79</sup> (fr. 34):

For someone against his will  
invited you to an *aiklon*, but you went willingly on the  
run.

He makes the same assertions in *Periallos* (fr. 109). But in Sparta they bring people who enter the common mess after dinner what is referred to as an *aiklon*, which consists of loaves of bread in a wicker basket and a piece of meat for each person; and the attendant follows the man who is distributing the portions and announces the *aiklon*, adding the name of the donor.

This is what Polemon has to say. Didymus the grammarian—Demetrius of Troezen (*SH* 376) calls him “the book-forgetter,” because of the large number of treatises he published (there are over 3500)—contradicts him, saying the following (p. 44 Schmidt): Polycrates, he says, records in his *History of Sparta* (*FGrH* 588 F 1) that the Spartans celebrate the Hyacinthia festival for three days, and because of the grief felt for Hyacinthus<sup>80</sup> they neither wear garlands at their dinner parties nor serve bread, but

<sup>76</sup> Cf. 3.109c.  
*or Wealth*.

<sup>79</sup> The title is more often given as *Hope*  
<sup>80</sup> Hyacinthus, a son of the legendary King Amyclas of Sparta, was accidentally killed by his lover Apollo (e.g. [Apollod.] *Bib.* 1.3.3).

ἀλλὰ πέμματα καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα διδόασιν. καὶ  
 τὸν εἰς τὸν θεὸν παιᾶνα οὐκ ᾄδουσιν οὐδ' ἄλλο τι  
 τοιοῦτον<sup>4</sup> οὐδὲν καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις θυσίαις ποι-  
 οῦσιν, ἀλλὰ μετ' εὐταξίας πολλῆς δειπνήσαντες ἀπ-  
 e ἐρχονται. τῇ δὲ μέσῃ τῶν τριῶν ἡμερῶν | γίνεται θεὰ  
 ποικίλη καὶ πανήγυρις ἀξιόλογος καὶ μεγάλη· παῖδές  
 τε γὰρ κιθαρίζουσιν ἐν χιτῶσιν ἀνεζωσμένοις καὶ  
 πρὸς αὐλὸν ᾄδοντες πάσας ἅμα τῷ πλήκτρῳ τὰς  
 χορδὰς ἐπιτρέχοντες ἐν ῥυθμῷ μὲν ἀναπαίστῳ, μετ'  
 ὀξέος δὲ τόνου τὸν θεὸν ᾄδουσιν· ἄλλοι δ' ἐφ' ἵππων  
 κεκοσμημένων τὸ θέατρον διεξέρχονται· χοροὶ τε νεα-  
 νίσκων παμπληθεῖς εἰσέρχονται καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων  
 τινὰ ποιημάτων ᾄδουσιν, ὀρχησταὶ τε τούτοις ἀνα-  
 f μεμιγμένοι τὴν κίνησιν ἀρχαϊκὴν ὑπὸ τὸν αὐλὸν | καὶ  
 τὴν ὥδην ποιοῦνται. τῶν δὲ παρθένων αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ  
 καννάθρων<sup>5</sup> φέρονται πολυτελῶς κατεσκευασμένων,  
 αἱ δ' ἐφ' ἀμίλλαις ἀρμάτων ἐζευγμένων πομπεύουσιν,  
 ἅπαντα δ' ἐν κινήσει καὶ χαρᾷ τῆς θεωρίας ἡ πόλις  
 καθέστηκεν. ἱερεῖά τε παμπληθῇ θύουσι τὴν ἡμέραν  
 ταύτην καὶ δειπνίζουσιν οἱ πολῖται πάντας τοὺς γνω-  
 ρίμους καὶ τοὺς δούλους τοὺς ἰδίους· οὐδεὶς δ' ἀπο-  
 λείπει τὴν θυσίαν, ἀλλὰ κενοῦσθαι συμβαίνει τὴν  
 πόλιν πρὸς τὴν θέαν. τῆς δὲ κοπίδος μνημονεύει καὶ  
 140 Ἀριστοφάνης || ἡ Φιλύλλιος ἐν ταῖς Πόλεσιν, Ἐπί-  
 λυκός τε ἐν Κωραλίσκῳ λέγων οὕτως·

<sup>4</sup> τοιοῦτον εἰσάγουσιν A

<sup>5</sup> καννάθρων καμαρωτῶν ξυλίνων ἀρμάτων ACE



## BOOK IV

instead offer sacrificial cakes and the foods that go with them. And they do not sing the paeon to the god<sup>81</sup> or do anything else of this sort, as they do at their other festivals, but eat in a very orderly fashion and then leave. On the middle day of the three there is an elaborate show and a large festival assembly that deserves mention. Boys play the lyre with their tunics pulled up high and sing accompanied by the pipe, running their picks over all the strings and singing to the god in anapaestic rhythm and a high pitch; and others pass through the theater mounted on horses in trappings. Numerous choruses of young men come in and sing some of their local poems, and dancers mixed in with them move in the ancient style, accompanied by the pipe and the song. Some of the unmarried girls are carried in expensively ornamented carriages fitted with wickerwork, while others process on two-horse racing chariots; and the whole city is full of movement and the pleasure of the festival. They also sacrifice a large number of animals on this day, and the citizens offer dinner to everyone they know, as well as to their own slaves. No one misses the celebration, and the city empties out to attend the show. Aristophanes or Philyllius (fr. 15) mentions the *kopis* in *Cities*,<sup>82</sup> as does Epilycus in *The Young Girl* (fr. 4), saying the following:<sup>83</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Apollo.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. 3.86e and 9.381a for confusion over the authorship of the play. Aristophanes is not otherwise known to have written a *Cities*, and Pollux and Hesychius consistently assign the comedy to Philyllius.

<sup>83</sup> The passage is in Doric dialect, appropriate for a Spartan.

ποττὰν κοπίδ', οἰῶ, σῶμαι  
 ἐν Ἀμύκλαισιν παρ' Ἀπέλλῳ  
 βάρακες πολλοὶ κᾶρτοι  
 καὶ δωμός τοι μάλα ἀδύς,

διαρρήδην λέγων μάζας ἐν ταῖς κοπίσι παρατίθε-  
 σθαι—τοῦτο γὰρ αἱ βάρακες δηλοῦσιν, οὐχὶ τολύπας,  
 ὥς φησι Λυκόφρων, ἥ τὰ προφυράματα τῶν μαζῶν,  
 ὥς Ἐρατοσθένης—καὶ ἄρτους δὲ καὶ ζωμόν τινα καθ-  
 ηδυσμένον περιπτῶς. τίς δέ ἐστιν ἡ κοπὶς σαφῶς

- b ἐκτίθεται Μόλπις ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων Πολιτείᾳ |  
 γράφων οὕτως· ποιοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὰς καλουμένας κοπί-  
 δας· ἐστὶν δ' ἡ κοπὶς δείπνον, μᾶζα, ἄρτος, κρέας,  
 λάχανον ὠμόν, ζωμός, σῦκον, τράγημα, θέρμος. ἀλλὰ  
 μὴν οὐδ' ὀρθαγορίσκοι λέγονται, ὥς φησιν ὁ Πολέ-  
 μων, οἱ γαλαθηνοὶ χοῖροι, ἀλλ' ὀρθραγορίσκοι, ἐπεὶ  
 πρὸς τὸν ὀρθρον πιπράσκονται, ὥς Περσαῖος ἱστορεῖ  
 ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ Πολιτείᾳ καὶ Διοσκουρίδης ἐν δευ-  
 τέρῳ Πολιτείας καὶ Ἀριστοκλῆς ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ καὶ  
 c οὗτος τῆς Λακῶνων Πολιτείας. ἔτι φησὶν ὁ Πολέμων |  
 καὶ τὸ δείπνον ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων αἵκλον προσ-  
 αγορεύεσθαι, παραπλησίως ἀπάντων Δωριέων οὕτως  
 αὐτὸ καλούντων. Ἀλκμὰν μὲν γὰρ οὕτω φησί·

κῆπὶ τᾷ μύλᾳ δρυφήται κῆπὶ ταῖς συναικλίαις,  
 οὕτω τὰ συνδείπνια καλῶν. καὶ πάλιν·

<sup>84</sup> For *barakes/bērēkes* and ball-of-wool cakes, cf. 3.114f.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. 4.139b.

## BOOK IV

I'm hurrying to the *kopis*, I think.  
In Apollo's temple at Amyclae  
there are many *barakes*, loaves of bread,  
and quite delicious broth.

He thus says explicitly that barley-cakes are served at the *kopides*—because this is what *barakes* refers to, not to a ball-of-wool cake,<sup>84</sup> as Lycophron claims, or the material kneaded up in advance to make barley-cakes, as Eratosthenes (pp. 233–4 Bernhardt) says—along with loaves of bread and some type of very tasty broth. What a *kopis* is is clearly expressed by Molpis in his *Constitution of the Spartans* (FGrH 590 F 1), writing as follows: They also hold the so-called *kopides*. A *kopis* is a dinner that features barley-cakes, bread, meat, wild vegetables, broth, figs, snacks, and lupine seeds. Yet the suckling pigs are not called *orthagoriskoi*, as Polemon claims,<sup>85</sup> but *orthragoriskoi*, because they are sold shortly before dawn (*orthros*),<sup>86</sup> as Persaeus records in his *Spartan Constitution* (FGrH 584 F 1 = fr. 455, SVF i.101–2), along with Dioscurides in Book II of *The State* (FGrH 594 F 2) and Aristocles as well in Book I of his *Constitution of the Spartans* (FGrH 586 F 1). Polemon (fr. 86, continued) further asserts that the Spartans refer to the dinner as an *aiklon*, and that nearly all the Dorians use this name for it. Alcman (PMG 95(a)), for example, says the following:

He tears his cheeks at the mill and at the *sunaikliai*,  
by which he means their common meals. Again (PMG 95(b)):

<sup>86</sup> The other element in the name is supposed to be cognate with *agora* (“marketplace”).



αἶκλον Ἀλκμάων ἀρμόξατο.

- αἶκλον δ' οὐ λέγουσιν οἱ Λάκωνες τὴν μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον  
μοῖραν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰ διδόμενα τοῖς φιδίταις μετὰ τὸ  
δεῖπνον· ἄρτος γάρ ἐστι καὶ κρέας. ἀλλ' ἐπαῖκλα μὲν  
d λέγεται ταῦτα, ὄντα οἷον ἐπιχορηγήματα τοῦ | συν-  
τεταγμένου τοῖς φιδίταις αἶκλον· παρὰ γὰρ τοῦτο  
οἶμαι τὴν φωνὴν πεποιῆσθαι. καί ἐστιν ἡ παρασκευὴ  
τῶν λεγομένων ἐπαῖκλων οὐχ ἀπλή, καθάπερ ὁ Πολέ-  
μων ὑπέιληφεν, ἀλλὰ διττὴ· ἦν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς παισὶ  
παρέχουσι, πάνυ τις εὐκόλός ἐστι καὶ εὐτελής· ἄλφιτα  
γάρ ἐστιν ἐλαίῳ δεδευμένα, ἃ φησι Νικοκλῆς ὁ Λά-  
κων κάπτειν αὐτοὺς μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐν φύλλοις δά-  
φνης, παρὸ καὶ καμματίδας μὲν προσαγορεύεσθαι τὰ  
φύλλα, αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ ψαιστὰ κάμματα. ὅτι δὲ ἔθος ἦν  
e τοῖς | πάλαι καὶ φύλλα δάφνης τραγηματίζεσθαι  
Καλλίας ἢ Διοκλῆς ἐν τοῖς Κύκλωσί φησιν οὕτως·

φυλλὰς ἢ δεῖπνων κατάλυσις ἥδε καθάπερ  
σχημάτων.

ἦν δ' εἰς τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν φιδίτια κομίζουσι, σκευοποι-  
εῖται ἔκ τινων ζώων ὠρισμένων, παραχορηγοῦντος  
αὐτὰ τοῖς φιδίταις ἐνὸς τῶν εὐπορούντων, ἔσθ' ὅτε δὲ  
καὶ πλειόνων. ὁ δὲ Μόλπις καὶ ματτύην φησὶ προσ-  
αγορεύεσθαι τὰ ἐπαῖκλα. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπαῖκλων Περ-  
σαῖος ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ Πολιτείᾳ οὕτωςι γράφει· καὶ

<sup>87</sup> For the doubts about the authorship of the play, cf. 12.524f; 15.667d; contrast 7.285e, 286b; 11.487a.

## BOOK IV

Alcman prepared an *aiklon*.

The Spartans do not use the term *aiklon* for the food distributed after the dinner or for what is given out to the members of a mess-group after the dinner; this is bread and meat. These items are instead referred to as *epaikla*, since they are, as it were, additions to the *aiklon* arranged for the members of the mess; because I believe that this is the source of the word. Nor is the food prepared for the *epaikla* under discussion here of a single type, as Polemon (fr. 86, continued) assumes, but of two types. For what they give the boys is very simple and cheap, since it is merely barley groats kneaded up with oil; Nicocles of Sparta (*FGrH* 587 F 1) reports that they gulp it down (*kaptein*) after dinner wrapped in laurel leaves, as a result of which the leaves are called *kammatides* and the cakes themselves *kammata*. That it was the custom of people long ago to snack on laurel leaves is asserted by Callias (fr. 7) or Diocles in *Cyclops*,<sup>87</sup> as follows:

This foliage represents an end to our dinner party as well as our dancing.

The food they bring into the men's messes, on the other hand, is prepared from specific animals that one of the wealthy members (or occasionally a number of them) supplies for his mess-mates. Molpis (*FGrH* 590 F \*2b) claims that the *epaikla* are also referred to as a *mattuē*.<sup>88</sup> Persaeus writes the following about *epaikla* in his *Spartan Constitu-*

<sup>88</sup> See the extended discussion of this term at 14.662f–4f, esp. 664e–f, where Molpis is cited again.

- f εὐθὺς τοὺς μὲν | εὐπόρους ζημιοῖ εἰς ἐπαῖκλα· ταῦτα δὲ  
 ἐστὶν μετὰ δεῖπνον τραγήματα· τοῖς δ' ἀπόροις ἐπι-  
 τάττει κάλαμον ἢ στιβάδα ἢ φύλλα δάφνης φέρειν,  
 ὅπως ἔχωσι τὰ ἐπαῖκλα κάπτειν μετὰ δεῖπνον· γίνεται  
 γὰρ ἄλφιτα ἐλαίῳ ἐρραμένα. τὸ δ' ὅλον ὥσπερ πολί-  
 τευμά τι τοῦτο δὴ συνίσταται μικρόν. καὶ γὰρ ὄντινα  
 δεῖ πρῶτον κατακεῖσθαι ἢ δεύτερον ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ σκιμ-  
 ποδίου καθῆσθαι, πάντα τοιαῦτα ποιοῦσιν εἰς ἐπαῖ-  
 141 κλα. τὰ ὅμοια ἱστορεῖ καὶ Διοσκουρίδης. || περὶ δὲ τῶν  
 καμματίδων καὶ τῶν καμμάτων Νικοκλῆς οὕτως γρά-  
 φει· διακούσας δὲ πάντων ὁ ἔφορος ἦτοι ἀπέλυσεν ἢ  
 κατεδίκησεν. ὁ δὲ νικήσας ἐζημίωσεν ἐλαφρῶς ἦτοι  
 κάμμασιν ἢ καμματίσιν. ἐστὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν κάμματα  
 ψαιστά, αἱ δὲ καμματίδες αἷς κάπτουσι τὰ ψαιστά.  
 περὶ δὲ τοῦ τῶν φιδιτίων δεῖπνου Δικαίάρχος τάδε  
 ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Τριπολιτικῷ· τὸ δεῖπνον  
 πρῶτον μὲν ἐκάστω χωρὶς παρατιθέμενον καὶ πρὸς  
 b ἕτερον κοινωνίαν οὐδεμίαν ἔχον· εἶτα μᾶζαν μὲν |  
 ὄσῃν ἂν ἕκαστος ἦ βουλόμενος, καὶ πιεῖν πάλιν ὅταν  
 ἦ θυμὸς ἐκάστω κώθων παρακείμενός ἐστιν. ὄψον δὲ  
 ταῦτόν ἀεί ποτε πᾶσιν ἐστὶν, ὕειον κρέας ἐφθόν, ἐνίοτε  
 δ' <οὐδ'> ὀτιμενοῦν πλὴν † ὄψον † τι μικρόν ἔχον  
 σταθμὸν ὡς τέταρτον μάλιστα, καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο ἕτερον  
 οὐδὲν πλὴν ὅ γε ἀπὸ τούτων ζωμὸς ἱκανὸς ὢν παρὰ  
 πᾶν τὸ δεῖπνον ἅπαντας αὐτοὺς παραπέμπειν, καὶ

<sup>89</sup> The subject must be an early Spartan statesman or lawgiver, presumably Lycurgus (Poralla #499).

## BOOK IV

tion (*FGrH* 584 F 2 = fr. 454, *SVF* i.101): At once he<sup>89</sup> imposes an assessment on the rich for *epaikla*; these are the snacks eaten after dinner. He assigns the poor, on the other hand, to bring reeds, a bed of cut branches, or some laurel leaves, so that they can gulp down (*kaptein*) their *epaikla* after dinner; these consist of barley-groats worked together with oil. This whole affair is organized like a small state; because if someone is required to lie down first or second,<sup>90</sup> or to sit on the stool, they use the same arrangements for the *epaikla*. Dioscurides (*FGrH* 594 F \*3) reports the same. As for the *kammatides* and the *kammata*, Nicocles (*FGrH* 587 F 2) writes the following: The ephor listened to them all and either acquitted or convicted them. Anyone who won his case imposed a light penalty in *kammata* or *kammatides*;<sup>91</sup> *kammata* are barley-cakes (*psaista*), while *kammatides* are what they use to gulp (*kaptousi*) the barley-cakes down. As for the dinner eaten by the members of the mess, Dicaearchus records the following in his work entitled *The Tristatesman* (fr. 72 Wehrli): The dinner is initially served to each man separately, and nothing is shared with anyone else. Then there is a barley-cake as large as each of them wants; and, moreover, a cup is set beside each man to drink from whenever he wishes. Everyone is always given the same *opson*, some stewed pork; and sometimes it is nothing at all except a little bit of [corrupt] that weighs a quarter-unit at most. Beyond that there is nothing else except the broth made from the meat, which is enough to supply them all during

<sup>89</sup> As a mark of honor.

<sup>91</sup> Sc. because money was not yet in use; cf. .3.74f–5a.

- ἄρα ἐλάα τις ἢ τυρὸς ἢ σῦκον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τι λάβωσιν ἐπιδόσιμον, ἰχθὺν ἢ λαγὼν ἢ φάτταν ἢ τι τοιοῦτον.
- c εἴτ' ὁξέως ἤδη δεδειπνηκόσιν ὕστερα περιφέρεται | ταῦτα τὰ ἐπαῖκλα καλούμενα. συμφέρεται δ' ἕκαστος εἰς τὸ φιδίτιον ἀλφίτων μὲν ὡς τρία μάλιστα ἡμιμέδιμνα Ἀττικά, οἴνου δὲ χοεῖς ἔνδεκά τινες ἢ δώδεκα, παρὰ δὲ ταῦτα τυροῦ σταθμόν τινα καὶ σύκων, ἔτι δὲ εἰς ὀψωνίαν περὶ δέκα τινὰς Αἰγυναίους ὀβολούς. Σφαῖρος δ' ἐν τρίτῳ Λακωνικῆς Πολιτείας γράφει· φέρουσι δὲ καὶ ἐπαῖκλα αὐτοῖς οἱ φιδίται· καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀγρευομένων ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἐνίοτε οἱ πολλοί, οὐ μὲν ἀλλ' οἱ γε πλούσιοι καὶ ἄρτον καὶ ὦν ἂν ὥρα ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ὅσον
- d εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν συνουσίαν, | νομίζοντες καὶ τὸ πλείονα τῶν ἱκανῶν παρασκευάζειν περιττὸν εἶναι, μὴ μέλλοντά γε προσφέρεισθαι. Μόλπις δὲ φησι μετὰ δὲ τὸ δείπνον εἴωθεν αἰεὶ τι παρὰ τινος κομίζεσθαι, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ παρὰ πλειόνων, παρ' αὐτοῖς κατ' οἶκον ἡρτυμένη ματτύη, ὃ καλοῦσιν ἐπαῖκλον. τῶν δὲ κομιζομένων οὐδεὶς οὐθέν ἀγοράσας εἴωθεν φέρειν· οὔτε γὰρ ἡδονῆς οὐδ' ἀκρασίας γαστρὸς οὔνεκεν κομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς ἀπόδειξιν τῆς κατὰ τὴν θήραν
- e ποιούμενοι. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ποίμνια αὐτῶν τρέφοντες | ἀφθόνως μεταδιδόασιν τῶν ἐκγόνων. ἐστὶ δ' ἡ ματτύη φάτται, χῆνες, τρυγόνες, κίχλαι, κόσσυφοι, λαγῶ, ἄρνες, ἔριφοι. οἱ δὲ μάγειροι σημαίνουσι τοὺς αἰεῖ

<sup>92</sup> About 12 bushels; cf. 2.67f n. This must be the amount contributed per month or the like.

## BOOK IV

the whole dinner, and perhaps an olive, some cheese, or a fig, or if they are given something extra, a fish, a hare, a ring-dove, or the like. They eat quickly, and then after this the so-called *epaikla* are passed around. Each man contributes at most about three Attic half-*medimnoi*<sup>92</sup> of barley groats to the mess, perhaps 11 or 12 *choes*<sup>93</sup> of wine, and in addition a certain weight of cheese and figs, and about 10 Aeginetan obols<sup>94</sup> to buy *opson*. Sphaerus writes in Book III of the *Spartan Constitution* (FGrH 585 F 1): The members of the mess also bring *epaikla* to them. On occasion average people bring some game they have caught, whereas the rich bring bread and as much of whatever is in season in their fields as is enough for a single meeting, since they regard preparing more than enough as excessive, if it is not going to be consumed. Molpis (FGrH 590 F \*2c) says: After the dinner, it was customary that something always be provided by someone, and on occasion by a number of people, specifically a *mattuē* they had prepared at home, which they refer to as an *epaiklon*. It was not the custom for anyone to purchase any of the items that were provided and bring it; for they do not supply these items for pleasure's sake or because their bellies are out of control, but as a way of demonstrating their own prowess in hunting. And many of them who keep flocks offer a generous share of the lambs and kids. The *mattua* consists of ring-doves, geese, turtledoves, thrushes, black-birds, hares, lambs, and kids. Whenever individuals supply

<sup>93</sup> About 10 gallons; cf. 3.118a n.

<sup>94</sup> The Spartans did not have their own coinage, and Aeginetan money was widely used throughout the Greek world; cf. 4.143b.



τι κομίζοντας εἰς μέσον, ἵνα πάντες εἰδῶσι τὴν τῆς  
 θήρας φιλοπονίαν καὶ τὴν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκτένειαν.  
 Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Σκήψιος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τοῦ Τρωικοῦ  
 Διακόσμου τὴν τῶν Καρνείων φησὶν ἐορτὴν παρὰ  
 Λακεδαιμονίοις μίμημα εἶναι στρατιωτικῆς ἀγωγῆς.  
 f τόπους μὲν γὰρ εἶναι ἐννέα τῷ ἀριθμῷ, | σκιαῖδες δὲ  
 οὗτοι καλοῦνται σκηναῖς ἔχοντες παραπλήσιόν τι καὶ  
 ἐννέα καθ' ἕκαστον ἄνδρες δειπνοῦσι, πάντα τε ἀπὸ  
 κηρύγματος πράσσεται, ἔχει τε ἐκάστη σκιάς φρα-  
 τρίας τρεῖς καὶ γίνεται ἢ τῶν Καρνείων ἐορτὴ ἐπὶ  
 ἡμέρας ἐννέα.

Τὴν δὲ τῆς διαίτης τῆς τοιαύτης σκληρότητα ὕστε-  
 ρον καταλύσαντες οἱ Λάκωνες ἐξώκειλαν εἰς τρυφήν.  
 Φύλαρχος γοῦν ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῶν Ἱστο-  
 ριῶν τάδε γράφει περὶ αὐτῶν· Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἰς μὲν  
 142 τὰ φιδίτια οὐκ ἤρχοντο κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος· || ὅτε δὲ  
 καὶ παραγένοντο, μικρὰ < . . . > συμπεριενεχθεῖσι  
 νόμον χάριν παρεσκευάζετο καὶ πάλιν αὐτοῖς στρω-  
 μναί τε τοῖς μεγέθεσιν οὕτως ἐξησκημέναι πολυτελῶς  
 καὶ τῇ ποικιλίᾳ διαφόρως ὥστε τῶν ξένων ἐνίους τῶν  
 παραληφθέντων ὀκνεῖν τὸν ἀγκῶνα ἐπὶ τὰ προσ-  
 κεφάλαια ἐρείδειν. οἱ δὲ πρότερον ἐπὶ τοῦ κλιντηρίου  
 ψιλοῦ διακαρτεροῦντες<sup>6</sup> παρ' ὅλην τὴν συνουσίαν, ὅτε  
 τὸν ἀγκῶνα ἅπαξ ἐρείσειαν < . . . > εἰς δὲ τὴν  
 προειρημένην τρυφήν ἦλθον ποτηρίων τ' ἐκθέσεις  
 b πολλῶν καὶ βρωμάτων παντοδαπῶς πεποιημένων |

<sup>6</sup> διακαρτεροῦντες τῆς κλίνης ACE

## BOOK IV

something, the cooks announce their names in the middle of the group, so that everyone can be aware of the hard work they have put into the hunting and the effort they have gone to for the others. Demetrius of Scepsis in Book I of his *Trojan Catalogue* (fr. 1 Gaede) says that the Spartans' Carneia festival imitates their military way of life. For there are a total of nine places, referred to as "canopies" because they contain something that resembles tents. Nine men eat dinner at each of these; everything is done in response to a herald's order; each canopy contains three phratries<sup>95</sup>; and the Carneia festival lasts for nine days.

The Spartans later abandoned a way of life as austere as this and drifted into luxury. Phylarchus, for example, writes the following about them in Book XXV of his *Histories* (FGrH 81 F 44): The Spartans stopped going to the common messes as their forefathers had. When they did attend, accommodating themselves to the situation out of respect for the law, tiny . . . were prepared for them; moreover, their bedding was so generously large and elaborately embroidered, that some of the foreigners who were there as guests were hesitant to rest their elbows on the pillows. In the old days, they put up with a bare couch throughout the whole party, once they rested their elbow on it . . . they arrived at the sort of luxury discussed above, and at the display of numerous cups and the serving of food prepared in

<sup>95</sup> Literally "brotherhoods," traditional kinship-groups attested in both Dorian states such as Sparta and Ionian states such as Athens. Here the point is that each Spartan phratry was represented by three men at one of the canopies.



παραθέσεις, ἔτι δὲ μύρων ἐξηλλαγμένων, ὥς δ' αὐτως  
 οἶνων καὶ τραγημάτων. καὶ τούτων ἤρξαν οἱ μικρὸν  
 πρὸ Κλεομένους βασιλεύσαντες Ἄρευσ καὶ Ἀκρότα-  
 τος αὐλικὴν ἐξουσίαν ζηλώσαντες· οὓς τοσοῦτον αὖ-  
 θις ὑπερῆράν τινες τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γενο-  
 μένων κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῇ καθ'  
 αὐτούς, ὥστε δοκεῖν τὸν Ἄρεα καὶ τὸν Ἀκρότατον  
 εὐτελείᾳ πάντας ὑπερβεβληκέναι τοὺς ἀφελεστάτους  
 τῶν πρότερον. Κλεομένης δὲ πολὺ διενέγκας τῷ τε  
 c συνιδεῖν πράγματα, καίτοι νέος ὢν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν |  
 δίαιταν ἀφελέστατος γέγονεν. ἤδη γὰρ τηλικούτων  
 πραγμάτων ἡγούμενος ἔμφασιν τοῖς παραλαμβανο-  
 μένοις πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν ἐποίει, διότι τὰ παρὰ ἐκείνοις  
 τῶν παρ' αὐτὸν οὐδὲν καταδεέστερον εἶη παρασκευα-  
 ζόμενα. πολλῶν δὲ πρεσβειῶν παραγινομένων πρὸς  
 αὐτὸν οὐδέποτε ἐνωρίστερον τοῦ κατειθισμένου συν-  
 ἦγεν καιροῦ πεντακλίνου τε διεστρώννυτο οὐδέποτε  
 πλείον· ὅτε δὲ μὴ παρείη πρεσβεία, τρίκλινον. καὶ  
 πρόσταγμα οὐκ ἐγίνετο δι' ἐδεάτρον τίς εἴσεται καὶ  
 d κατακλιθήσεται πρῶτος, ἀλλ' | ὁ πρεσβύτατος ἡγείτο  
 ἐπὶ τὰς κλῖνας, εἰ μὴ τιν' αὐτὸς προσκαλέσαιτο. κατ-  
 ελαμβάνετο δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ κατα-  
 κείμενος ἢ μετὰ τινος τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν. ἐπὶ τε τῷ τρί-  
 ποδι ψυκτῆρ χαλκοῦς ἐπέκειτο καὶ κάδος καὶ σκαφίον  
 ἀργυροῦν δύο κοτύλας χωροῦν καὶ κύαθος, ἢ δ' ἐπίχυ-  
 σις χαλκῇ. πιεῖν δὲ οὐ προσεφέρετο, εἰ μὴ τις αἰτή-

<sup>96</sup> Areus (Bradford p. 43) reigned c.309–265 BCE. Acrotatus

## BOOK IV

every way and of extraordinary perfumes, as well as wines and snacks. These changes were initiated by Areus and Acrotatus, who were kings shortly before Cleomenes<sup>96</sup> and adopted the excessive style of life typical of royal courts. They in turn were so far outdone in personal extravagance by some private Spartan citizens of the same period, that Areus and Acrotatus appeared to have exceeded all the simplest men of the past in their frugality. Cleomenes was quite exceptional in his understanding of political affairs, even though he was a young man, and he lived a very simple life. Despite the fact that he was now responsible for important matters, he created the impression among the men he invited to sacrificial feasts that the food in their own houses was not prepared any worse than what he ate. And although many embassies visited him, he never convened a meeting before the customary hour and never had more than five couches spread;<sup>97</sup> when no embassy was present, there only three. There was no announcement by a steward as to who was going to sit or lie down first; instead, the oldest man led the way to the couches, unless he himself asked someone else to do so. [Cleomenes] was generally found reclining with his brother or one of the men of his own age.<sup>98</sup> There was a bronze wine-cooler that sat on its tripod, a wine-jar, a silver bowl with a capacity of two *kotulai*<sup>99</sup>, and a ladle; the pitcher was made of bronze. No one was offered anything to drink unless he asked for it.

(Bradford p. 22) was his son and successor, who died in battle at Megalopolis c.262. Cleomenes III (Bradford p. 240; discussed below) became king c.235.

<sup>97</sup> Creating room for ten men, two per couch.

<sup>98</sup> Sc. rather than with a younger lover.

<sup>99</sup> About a pint; see 4.129b n.

σειεν· ἐδίδοδοτο δὲ κύαθος εἰς πρὸ τοῦ δείπνου, αὐτῷ δὲ  
πολὺν πρῶτον· καὶ ὅτε προσνεύσειεν ἐκεῖνος, οὕτως  
ἤτουν καὶ οἱ λοιποί. τὰ δὲ παρατιθέμενα ἐπὶ μὲν  
e τραπεζίου ἦν τοῦ τυχόντος, | τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ὥστε μήθ'  
ὑπεραίρειν μήτ' ἐλλείπειν, ἀλλ' ἱκανὰ ἅπασιν γίνεσθαι  
καὶ μὴ προσδεῖσθαι τοὺς παρόντας. οὔτε γὰρ οὕτως  
ᾤετο δεῖν ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς φιδιτίοις δέχεσθαι ζωμῶ καὶ  
κρεαδίοις ἀφελῶς οὔτε πάλιν οὕτως ὑπερτείνειν ὥς εἰς  
τὸ μηθὲν δαπανᾶν, ὑπερβάλλοντα τὸ σύμμετρον τῆς  
διαίτης· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀνελεύθερον ἐνόμιζε, τὸ δ' ὑπερή-  
φανον. ὁ δ' οἶνος ἦν μικρῶ βελτίων, ὅτε παρείησάν  
τινες. ἐπεὶ δὲ δειπνήσειαν, ἐσιώπων πάντες, ὃ τε παῖς  
f ἐφειστήκει κεκραμένον ἔχων τὸ ποτὸν | καὶ τῷ αἰτοῦν-  
τι προσέφερε. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ μετὰ τὸ δεί-  
πνον οὐ πλείον ἐδίδοδοτο δύο κυάθων καὶ τοῦτο προσ-  
νεύσαντι προσεφέρετο. ἀκρόαμα δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδέποτε  
παρεισεπορεύετο, διετέλει δ' αὐτὸς προσομιλῶν πρὸς  
ἕκαστον καὶ πάντας ἐκκαλούμενος εἰς τὸ τὰ μὲν ἀκού-  
ειν, τὰ δὲ λέγειν αὐτούς, ὥστε τεθηρευμένους ἀποτρέ-  
χειν ἅπαντας. διακωμῳδῶν δ' Ἀντιφάνης τὰ Λακω-  
νικὰ δείπνα ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ δράματι Ἄρχων  
143 φησὶν οὕτως· ||

ἐν Λακεδαίμονι

γέγονας· ἐκείνων τῶν νόμων μεθεκτέον  
ἐστίν. βάδιζ' ἐπὶ δείπνον εἰς τὰ φιδίτια,  
ἀπόλαυε τοῦ ζωμοῦ, † φόρει τοὺς βύστακας.  
μὴ καταφρόνει, μηδ' ἕτερ' ἐπιζήτει καλά,

## BOOK IV

One ladleful was offered before the dinner, to Cleomenes well before the others; when he nodded to them, the rest of the group asked for theirs. The food was served on a little table and was quite ordinary; beyond that, the aim was for there to be neither too much nor too little, so that everyone had enough and no one who was present had to ask for anything additional. Because he felt it unnecessary either to entertain them as in the common messes with nothing but broth and chunks of meat, or on the other hand, to go so far as to spend money pointlessly, exceeding the moderation in which he lived; he considered the former course stingy, the latter insolently proud. The wine was slightly better when other people were present. They all remained quiet while they ate, and a slave stood over them holding the wine, which had already been mixed, and provided it to anyone who asked. So too after dinner, no one was offered more than two ladlesful, and he only got those if he nodded his head. No musical entertainment was ever brought in, and Cleomenes himself spent his time talking to each of his guests and urging them all to say or listen to this or that. The result was that they were all captivated by him when they left. Antiphanes satirizes Spartan dinner parties in the play entitled *The Archon* (fr. 46), saying the following:

You were born  
in Sparta, so you ought to stick to  
their customs. Go to dinner in the common mess,  
enjoy the broth † and wear a mustache!  
Don't be haughty or seek other pleasures,

ἐν τοῖς δ' ἐκείνων ἔθουσιν ἴσθ' ἀρχαϊκός.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν Κρητικῶν συσσιτίων Δωσιάδας ἱστορῶν ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν Κρητικῶν γράφει οὕτως· οἱ δὲ Λύττιοι συνάγουσι μὲν τὰ κοινὰ συσσίτια οὕτως.

- b ἕκαστος τῶν γινομένων καρπῶν ἀναφέρει τὴν | δεκάτην εἰς τὴν ἐταιρίαν καὶ τὰς τῆς πόλεως προσόδους, ἃς διανέμουνσιν οἱ προεστηκότες τῆς πόλεως εἰς τοὺς ἐκάστων οἴκους. τῶν δὲ δούλων ἕκαστος Αἰγίναϊον φέρει στατῆρα κατὰ κεφαλὴν. διήρηνται δ' οἱ πολῖται πάντες καθ' ἐταιρίας, καλοῦσι δὲ ταύτας ἀνδρεῖα. τὴν δὲ ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχει τοῦ συσσιτίου γυνὴ τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας τῶν δημοτικῶν προσειληφυῖα πρὸς τὰς ὑπηρεσίας. ἐκάστῳ δ' αὐτῶν ἀκολουθοῦσι δύο θεράποντες ξυλοφόροι· καλοῦσι δ' αὐτοὺς καλοφόρους. εἰσὶ δὲ πανταχοῦ κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην οἴκοι δύο ταῖς συσσιτίαις, ὧν τὸν μὲν | καλοῦσιν ἀνδρεῖον, τὸν δ' ἄλλον ἐν ᾧ
- c τοὺς ξένους κοιμίζουσιν κοιμητήριον προσαγορεύουσι. κατὰ δὲ τὸν συσσιτικὸν οἶκον πρῶτον μὲν κεῖνται δύο τράπεζαι ξενικαὶ καλούμεναι, αἷς προσκαθίζουσιν τῶν ξένων οἱ παρόντες· ἐξῆς δ' εἰσὶν αἱ τῶν ἄλλων. παρατίθεται δὲ τῶν παρόντων ἴσον μέρος ἐκάστῳ· τοῖς δὲ νεωτέροις ἡμισυ δίδοται κρέως, τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐθενὸς ἄπτονται. εἴτα ποτήριον ἐν ἐκάστη τραπέζῃ παρατίθεται κεκραμένον ὕδαρῳ· τοῦτο κοινῇ πάντες πίνουσιν
- d οἱ κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν τράπεζαν, καὶ δειπνήσασιν | ἄλλο παρατίθεται. τοῖς δὲ παισὶ κοινὸς κέκραται κρατῆρ. τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις ἐὰν βούλωνται πλεῖον πιεῖν

## BOOK IV

but act old-fashioned in the same way they do!

Dosiades offers a report about the Cretan *sussitia* ("common messes") in Book IV of his *History of Crete* (FGrH 458 F 2), writing as follows: The inhabitants of Lyttus organize their common *sussitia* in the following way. Each man contributes one-tenth of the crops his land produces to the group, along with the state revenues the city magistrates divide among the various households. The slaves all contribute one Aeginetan *stater* per head.<sup>100</sup> All the citizens are divided into groups, which they refer to as *andreia* ("men's associations"). A woman is put in charge of the mess and is given three or four public slaves as assistants. Each of them is accompanied by two common slaves, whose job is to carry wood; they refer to them as *kalophoroi* ("wood-bearers"). Everywhere throughout Crete there are two houses for the common messes, one of which they refer to as the *andreion*, while the name they use for the other, where they have visitors sleep (*koimizousi*), is the *koimētērion*. In the mess-house there are, first of all, two tables set up; these are referred to as *xenikai* ("guest-[tables]"), and any foreigners present sit at them. After them are the tables for the others. Everyone is served an equal portion of whatever food there is, although the young men are given only a half-portion of meat and do not touch anything else. Then a cup of heavily diluted wine is set on each table, and everyone who shares a table drinks from this in common; after they eat, another cup is served. A shared mixing-bowl of wine and water is prepared for the boys; the old men are permitted to drink more if they

<sup>100</sup> See 4.141c n.

ἐξουσία δέδοται. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς τραπέζης τὰ βέλτιστα τῶν παρακειμένων ἢ προεστηκυῖα τῆς συσσιτίας γυνὴ φανερώς ἀφαιροῦσα παρατίθησι τοῖς κατὰ πόλεμον ἢ κατὰ σύνεσιν δεδοξασμένοις. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ δείπνου πρῶτον μὲν εἰώθασι βουλευέσθαι περὶ τῶν κοινῶν, εἶτα μετὰ ταῦτα μέμνηνται τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον πράξεων καὶ τοὺς γενομένους ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ἐπαινοῦσι, προτρεπόμενοι τοὺς νεωτέρους εἰς ἀνδραγαθίαν. | Πυργίων δ' ἐν τρίτῳ Κρητικῶν Νομίμων, ἐν τοῖς συσσιτίοις, φησὶν, οἱ Κρῆτες καθήμενοι συσσιτοῦσι· καὶ ὅτι οἱ νεώτατοι αὐτῶν ἐφeskτᾶσι διακονοῦντες· καὶ ὅτι μετ' εὐφημίας σπείσαντες τοῖς θεοῖς μερίζουσι τῶν παρατιθεμένων ἅπασι. ἀπονέμουσι δὲ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς κατὰ τὸν θᾶκον τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς ὑφιζάνουσιν ἐξ ἡμισείας τῶν τοῖς ἀνδράσι παρατιθεμένων· τοὺς δ' ὀρφανοὺς ἰσομερεῖς εἶναι. παρατίθεται δ' αὐτοῖς ἀβαμβάκεντα τῇ κράσει | καθ' ἕκαστα τῶν νενομισμένων. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ξενικοὶ θᾶκοι καὶ τράπεζα τρίτη δεξιᾶς εἰσιόντων εἰς τὰ ἀνδρεῖα, ἣν Ξενίου τε Διὸς Ξενίαν τε προσηγόρευον.

Ἡρόδοτος δὲ συγκρίνων τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμπόσια πρὸς τὰ παρὰ Πέρσαις φησὶν· ἡμέρην δὲ Πέρσαι ἀπασέων μάλιστα ἐκείνην τιμᾶν νομίζουσι τῇ ἕκαστος ἐγένετο. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ πλέω δαῖτα τῶν ἄλλων δικαιοῦσι προτίθεσθαι· ἐν τῇ οἱ εὐδαίμονες αὐτῶν  
 144 βούν καὶ ὄνον καὶ ἵππον καὶ κάμηλον προτιθέαται || ὅλους ὀπτοὺς ἐν καμίνοις· οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν τὰ



## BOOK IV

want. The woman in charge of the mess makes a show of removing the best food that has been served from the table and giving it to the men who have won a good reputation in war or for their intelligence. After dinner it is their custom to discuss public matters first; then after this they recall deeds done in war and praise brave men from the past, as a way of encouraging the younger ones to distinguish themselves. Pyrgion says in Book III of *Cretan Customs* (FGrH 467 F 1) that the Cretans sit in their common messes and eat together; the youngest ones stand beside them and serve. After they pour a libation to the gods in silence, they give everyone a share of the food that has been served. They give the boys, who sit beside their fathers' chairs, half of what is served to the men. Orphans, on the other hand, get a full share, although their food is served without any of the usual seasonings mixed in. There were also chairs reserved for guests, and a third table on the right-hand side as one entered the mess, which they referred to as "the table of Zeus the Stranger" and "the Stranger's table."

Herodotus (1.133)<sup>101</sup> compares Greek symposia to those the Persians celebrate, saying: The Persians think it appropriate to show the most honor to the day one was born. On that day they consider it right to serve a larger meal than on other days; on it the wealthy ones serve an ox, a donkey, a horse, and a camel, all roasted whole in ovens, whereas the poor serve small herd-animals. They do not

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<sup>101</sup> The Greek has been inconsistently Atticized and there are a number of minor deviations from the traditional text.

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<sup>7</sup> συσσιτοῦσι· καὶ ὅτι ἀβαμβάκευστα τοῖς ὀρφανοῖς παρατίθεται· καὶ Α

λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων προτίθενται. σίτοισί τε ὀλίγοισι  
 χρέονται, ἐπιφορήμασι δὲ πολλοῖσι καὶ οὐκ ἀλέσι.  
 καὶ διὰ τοῦτό φασι Πέρσαι τοὺς Ἑλληνας σιτεομέ-  
 νους πεινῶντας παύεσθαι, ὅτι σφίσιν ἀπὸ δείπνου  
 παραφορέεται οὐδὲν λόγου ἄξιον· εἰ δέ τι παρα-  
 φέροιτο, ἐσθίοντας ἂν οὐ παύεσθαι. οἶνω δὲ κάρτα  
 προσκέαται· καὶ σφιν οὐκ ἐμέσαι ἔξεστιν, οὐκ οὐρή-  
 σαι ἀντίον ἄλλου. ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω φυλάσσεται.  
 b μεθυσκόμενοι δὲ εἰώθασι βουλευέσθαι τὰ ἰσπουνδαι-  
 ὅτατα τῶν πρηγμάτων· τὸ δ' ἂν ἄδη σφίσι βουλευο-  
 μένοισι, τοῦτο τῇ ὑστεραίῃ νήφουσι προτιθεῖ ὁ στε-  
 γέάρχος ἐν τοῦ ἂν ἐόντες βουλευῶνται. καὶ ἦν μὲν ἄδη  
 καὶ νήφουσι, χρέονται αὐτῷ· εἰ δὲ μή, μετιείσιν. τὰ δ'  
 ἂν νήφοντες προβουλευσῶνται, μεθυσκόμενοι ἐπιδια-  
 γινώσκουσι.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς τρυφῆς τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις βασιλέων  
 Ξενοφῶν ἐν Ἀγησιλάῳ οὕτω γράφει· τῷ μὲν γὰρ  
 Πέρσῃ πᾶσαν γῆν περιέρχονται μαστεύοντες τί ἂν  
 ἡδέως πίοι, μυρίοι δὲ τεχνῶνται τί ἂν ἡδέως φάγοι·  
 c ὅπως γε ἰ μὴν καταδάρθοι οὐδ' ἂν εἴποι τις ὅσα  
 πραγματεύονται. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ διὰ τὸ φιλόπονος  
 εἶναι πᾶν μὲν τὸ παρὸν ἡδέως ἔπινε, πᾶν δὲ τὸ  
 συντυχὸν ἡδέως ἥσθιεν· εἰς δὲ τὸ ἀσμένως κοιμη-  
 θῆναι πᾶς τόπος ἱκανὸς ἦν αὐτῷ. ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἰέρωνι  
 ἐπιγραφομένῳ λέγων περὶ τῶν τοῖς τυράννοις παρα-  
 σκευαζομένων καὶ τῶν τοῖς ἰδιώταις εἰς τροφάς φησιν  
 οὕτως· “καὶ οἶδά γε,” ἔφη, “ὦ Σιμωνίδη, ὅτι τούτῳ κρί-  
 νουσιν οἱ πλείστοι ἥδιον ἡμᾶς καὶ πίνειν καὶ ἐσθίειν

## BOOK IV

eat much bread or cakes, but consume many side-dishes, not all at the same time. This is why the Persians say that the Greeks stop eating while they are still hungry, because the Greeks are not served anything worth eating after dinner; but if anything like this *were* served, they would *not* stop eating. They are very fond of wine, and are not allowed to vomit or urinate in front of another person. These are the customs they keep. It is their practice to consider the most serious matters when they are drunk. Whatever they decide, the next day the master of the house where they have their discussions sets it before them when they are sober. If the idea also pleases them when they are sober, they adopt it; otherwise they let it go. As for proposals they make when they are sober, they take a careful look at them while drunk.

As regards the luxury of the Persian kings, Xenophon writes as follows in *Agesilaus* (9.3): Men travel through the Persian king's entire territory for him, trying to find wines he would enjoy drinking; countless people produce foods he might like to eat; and it is impossible to describe how much trouble is taken to ensure that he goes to sleep. But because Agesilaus liked to work hard, he enjoyed drinking whatever was available, and enjoyed eating whatever there was; and as for going happily to sleep, any place was good enough for him. In his work entitled *Hieron* (1.17–20), in his discussion of the foods prepared for tyrants and for private citizens to eat, he says the following: "I am also aware, Simonides," said [Hieron], "that the reason most people believe that we get more pleasure from eating and drink-

τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, ὅτι δοκοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἥδιον ἂν δειπνήσαι  
 d τὸ | ἡμῖν παρατιθέμενον δεῖπνον ἢ τὸ ἑαυτοῖς· τὸ γὰρ  
 τὰ εἰωθότα ὑπερβάλλον, τοῦτο παρέχει τὰς ἡδονάς.  
 διὸ καὶ πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἡδέως προσδέχονται τὰς  
 ἑορτὰς πλὴν<sup>8</sup> οἱ τύραννοι· ἑκπλεῶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς αἰεὶ  
 παρεσκευασμένοι οὐδεμίαν ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς ἐπίδοσιν  
 ἔχουσιν αὐτῶν αἰ τράπεζαι· ὥστε ταύτῃ πρῶτον τῇ  
 εὐφροσύνῃ τῆς ἐλπίδος μειονεκτοῦσι τῶν ἰδιωτῶν.  
 ἔπειτα", ἔφη, "ἐκείνο εὖ οἶδα ὅτι καὶ σὺ ἔμπειρος εἶ, ὅτι  
 ὅσῳ ἂν πλείω τις παραθῇται τὰ περιττὰ τῶν ἱκανῶν,  
 e τοσοῦτῳ καὶ θάσσον<sup>9</sup> κόρος | ἐμπίπτει τῆς ἐδωδῆς.  
 ὥστε καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ἡδονῆς μειονεκτεῖ ὁ παρατιθέ-  
 μενος πολλὰ τῶν μετρίως διαιτωμένων." "ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ  
 Δία," ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, "ὅσον ἂν χρόνον ἡ ψυχὴ προσ-  
 ῖηται, τοῦτον πολὺ μᾶλλον ἡδονταὶ οἱ ταῖς πολυτε-  
 λεστέραις παρασκευαῖς τρεφόμενοι τῶν τὰ εὐτελέ-  
 στερα παρατιθεμένων." Θεόφραστος δ' ἐν τῷ Πρὸς  
 Κάσανδρον Περὶ Βασιλείας (εἰ γνήσιον τὸ σύγγραμ-  
 μα· πολλοὶ γὰρ αὐτό φασιν εἶναι Σωσιβίου, εἰς ὃν  
 Καλλίμαχος ὁ ποιητῆς ἐπίνικον ἐλεγειακὸν ἐποίησεν)  
 τοὺς Περσῶν φησι βασιλεῖς ὑπὸ τρυφῆς προκηρύτ-  
 τειν τοῖς ἐφευρίσκουσιν τινα καινὴν ἡδονὴν ἀργυρίου  
 πλήθος. Θεόπομπος δ' ἐν τῇ τριακοστῇ καὶ πέμπτῃ  
 f τῶν Ἱστοριῶν τὸν | Παφλαγόνων φησὶ βασιλέα Θῦν  
 ἑκατὸν πάντα παρατίθεσθαι δειπνοῦντα ἐπὶ τὴν τρά-  
 πεζαν ἀπὸ βοῶν ἀρξάμενον· καὶ ἀναχθέντα αἰχμάλω-  
 τον ὡς βασιλέα καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ ὄντα πάλιν τὰ αὐτὰ  
 παρατίθεσθαι ζῶντα λαμπρῶς. διὸ καὶ ἀκούσαντα



## BOOK IV

ing than private citizens do is because they think they would enjoy eating the dinner we are served more than the one served to themselves. Because whatever exceeds what one is used to provides pleasure. This is why everyone except tyrants eagerly awaits festivals; for the fact that their tables are always full means that they offer nothing extra on festival days. As a result, in this delight one gets from anticipation, first of all, they have less than private citizens do. And then," he said, "I'm sure you've experienced this, that to the extent someone's served more than he needs, he becomes that much more rapidly full of food. As a result, someone served many dishes is at a disadvantage compared to those who live moderately in how long his pleasure lasts." "But by Zeus," said Simonides, "as long as their appetite holds out, surely those who eat the more expensive food get much more pleasure than those who are served less expensive things!" Theophrastus in his *To Cassander on Kingship* (fr. 603)—if the treatise is authentic; many authorities attribute it to Sosibius (*FGrH* 595 T 3), for whom the poet Callimachus (fr. 384) wrote a victory ode in elegiacs—says that the Persian kings are so addicted to luxury that they make a public offer of a substantial amount of money to anyone who discovers a new pleasure. Theopompus in Book XXXV of his *Histories* (*FGrH* 115 F 179) says that when the Paphlagonian king Thys had dinner, 100 of everything was set on his table, starting with oxen; when he was brought inland as a prisoner to the King and was under guard, the same foods were still being served to him and he was living splendidly. When

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<sup>8</sup> πλὴν οὐχ A: ἀλλ' οὐχ CE

<sup>9</sup> θᾶσσον μᾶλλον ACE

- 145 Ἄρταξέρξην || εἰπεῖν ὅτι οὕτως αὐτῷ δοκοίη ζῆν ὡς  
ταχέως ἀπολούμενος. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς Θεόπομπος ἐν τῇ  
τετάρτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν, ὅταν, φησί,  
βασιλεὺς εἷς τινὰς ἀφίκηται τῶν ἀρχομένων, εἰς τὸ  
δεῖπνον αὐτοῦ δαπανᾶσθαι εἴκοσι τάλαντα, ποτέ δέ  
καὶ τριάκοντα· οἱ δὲ καὶ πολὺ πλείω δαπανῶσιν·  
ἐκάσταις γὰρ τῶν πόλεων κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος ὥσπερ ὁ  
b φόρος καὶ | τὸ δεῖπνον ἐκ παλαιοῦ τεταγμένον ἐστίν.  
Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ Κυμαῖος ὁ τὰ Περσικὰ συγγράψας  
ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν ἐπιγραφομένων Παρασκευαστικῶν,  
καὶ οἱ θεραπεύοντες, φησί, τοὺς Περσῶν βασιλεῖς  
δειπνοῦντας ἅπαντες λελουμένοι διακονοῦσιν ἐσθῆτας  
καλὰς ἔχοντες καὶ διατρίβουσι σχεδὸν τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς  
ἡμέρας περὶ τὸ δεῖπνον. τῶν δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως συν-  
δείπνων οἱ μὲν ἔξω δειπνοῦσιν, οὓς καὶ ὁρᾶν ἔξεστι  
παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ, οἱ δὲ εἴσω μετὰ βασιλέως. καὶ  
οὗτοι δὲ οὐ συνδειπνοῦσιν αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ἔστιν οἰκήματα  
δύο καταντικρὺ ἀλλήλων, ἐν ᾧ <θ'> ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ  
ἄριστον ποιεῖται καὶ ἐν ᾧ οἱ σύνδειπνοι καὶ ὁ βασι-  
c λεὺς ἐκείνους ὁρᾷ διὰ τοῦ παρακαλύμματος | τοῦ ἐπὶ  
τῇ θύρᾳ, ἐκεῖνοι δ' αὐτὸν οὐχ ὁρῶσιν. ἐνίοτε μέντοι  
ἐπειδὰν ἐορτὴ ᾖ, ἐν ἐνὶ οἰκῇματι ἅπαντες δειπνοῦσιν,  
ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ<sup>10</sup>. ὅταν δὲ βασι-  
λεὺς πότον ποιῇται, ποιεῖται δὲ πολλάκις, συμπόται  
αὐτῷ εἰσιν ὡς μάλιστα δώδεκα. καὶ ὅταν δειπνήσω-  
σιν, ὃ τε βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ οἱ σύν-  
δειπνοι, καλεῖ τοὺς συμπότας τούτους τις τῶν εὐνού-

## BOOK IV

Artaxerxes heard this, he accordingly said that he thought that Thys was living in a way that suggested he was expecting to die soon.<sup>102</sup> The same Theopompus says in Book XIV of his *History of Philip* (FGrH 115 F 113): Whenever the King visits any of his subjects, they spend 20 talents on his dinner, or sometimes 30; others spend even more than this. Because since ancient times his dinner has been assigned to each city in proportion to its size, like the tribute. Heracleides of Cumae, the author of the *History of Persia*, says in Book II of the work entitled *Preparations* (FGrH 689 F 2): When the Persian kings are dining, all their attendants bathe and wear fine clothing while they serve them, and they spend nearly half the day dealing with the dinner. Some of those who dine with the King eat outside, and anyone who wants to can see them, whereas others eat inside with the King. But even they do not eat in his company; instead, there are two rooms opposite one another, and the King has lunch in one and his guests in the other. The King can see them through the curtain that covers the door, but they cannot see him. Occasionally, however, when a festival is going on, they all dine in a single room, that is the large one, which the King occupies. Whenever the King has a drinking party (and he does this often), a dozen people generally join him. After they are done with dinner, the King all alone by himself and his guests separately, one of the eunuchs summons the men who are go-

<sup>102</sup> The location of the incident in Book XXXV of the *Histories* places it in the mid-340s BCE, in which case the Persian king in question must be Artaxerxes III (reigned 359/8–338).

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<sup>10</sup> *μεγάλῳ οἴκῳ* ACE



χων. καὶ ὅταν εἰσέλθωσι, συμπίνουσιν μετ' αὐτοῦ, οὐ  
 τὸν αὐτὸν οἶνον κακέينوι, καὶ οἱ μὲν χαμαὶ καθήμενοι,  
 d ὁ δ' ἐπὶ κλίνης | χρυσόποδος κατακείμενος· καὶ ὑπερ-  
 μεθυσθέντες ἀπέρχονται. τὰ δὲ πλείστα ὁ βασιλεὺς  
 μόνος ἀριστᾷ καὶ δειπνεῖ. ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτῷ  
 συνδειπνεῖ καὶ τῶν υἱῶν ἔνιοι. καὶ παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον  
 ᾄδουσί τε καὶ ψάλλουσιν αἱ παλλακαὶ αὐτῷ, καὶ μία  
 μὲν ἐξάρχει, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι ἀθρόως ᾄδουσι. τὸ δὲ δεῖ-  
 πνον, φησί, τὸ βασιλέως καλούμενον ἀκούσαντι μὲν  
 δόξει μεγαλοπρεπὲς εἶναι, ἐξεταζόμενον δὲ φανέεται  
 οἰκονομικῶς καὶ ἀκριβῶς συντεταγμένον καὶ τοῖς  
 e ἄλλοις Πέρσαις τοῖς ἐν δυναστείᾳ οὔσι κατὰ | τὸν  
 αὐτὸν τρόπον. ἐστὶ μὲν γὰρ τῷ βασιλεῖ χίλια ἱερεῖα  
 τῆς ἡμέρας κατακοπτόμενα· τούτων δ' εἰσὶ καὶ ἵπποι  
 καὶ κάμηλοι καὶ βόες καὶ ὄνοι καὶ ἔλαφοι καὶ τὰ  
 πλείστα πρόβατα· πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ὄρνιθες ἀναλίσκον-  
 ται, οἳ τε στρουθοὶ οἱ Ἀράβιοι—ἐστὶν δὲ τὸ ζῶον  
 μέγα—καὶ χῆνες καὶ ἀλεκτρύονες. καὶ μέτρια μὲν  
 αὐτῶν παρατίθεται ἐκάστῳ τῶν συνδείπνων τοῦ βασι-  
 λέως, καὶ ἀποφέρεται ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ὅ τι ἂν καταλί-  
 πηται ἐπὶ τῷ ἀρίστῳ. τὰ δὲ πλείστα τούτων τῶν  
 f ἱερείων καὶ τῶν σιτίων οὓς τρέφει βασιλεὺς | τῶν τε  
 δορυφόρων καὶ τῶν πελταστῶν, τούτοις ἐκφέρεται εἰς  
 τὴν αὐλήν· οὗ ἡμιδεῇ ἅπαντα μερίδας ποιήσαντες τῶν  
 κρεῶν καὶ τῶν ἄρτων ἴσας διαιροῦνται. ὥσπερ δὲ οἱ  
 μισθοφόροι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι μισθὸν ἀργύριον λαμβά-  
 νουσιν, οὕτως οὗτοι τὰ σιτία παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς  
 ὑπόλογον λαμβάνουσιν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις

## BOOK IV

ing to drink with him. After they come in, they drink in his company, although not the same wine; they do this sitting on the floor, whereas he lies on a couch with gold feet. And after they get very drunk, they leave. The King usually eats lunch and dinner alone, but from time to time his wife and some of his sons eat with him. During dinner, his concubines sing and play the harp, and one of them takes the lead, while the others sing in unison.<sup>103</sup> What is referred to as the “King’s Dinner,” he says, will seem magnificent if one hears it described, but if it is examined carefully, it will be clear that it has been arranged in a careful, economical fashion, like the meals given by other Persian high officials. 1000 sacrificial victims are butchered for the King every day; these include horses, camels, oxen, donkeys, and deer, although the majority are sheep and goats. Many birds are also consumed, including ostriches<sup>104</sup>—the creature is a large one—geese, and chickens. Each of the King’s guests is served a modest portion of this food and takes home whatever is left over for the next day’s lunch. But the majority of the sacrificial meat and breadstuffs is taken out into the courtyard for the bodyguards and light-armed troops the King supports. There they split up all the half-eaten meat and bread into shares and divide them equally. And just as mercenary soldiers in Greece get their wages in silver, so these men get food from the king in return for their services. So too in the houses of the other Persians

<sup>103</sup> I.e. as a chorus.

<sup>104</sup> Literally “Arabian sparrows.”

- Πέρσαις τοῖς ἐν δυναστείᾳ οὖσιν ἀθρόα πάντα τὰ  
σιτία ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν παρατίθεται· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ  
σύνδειπνοι δειπνήσωσι, τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης κατα-  
λειπομένων—καταλείπεται δὲ τὰ πλείστα κρέα καὶ  
ἄρτοι—ὁ τῆς τραπέζης ἐπιμελούμενος δίδωσιν ἐκάστω  
τῶν οἰκετῶν, καὶ ταῦτα λαβὼν τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν ἔχει  
146 τροφήν. || παρὰ γὰρ τὸν βασιλέα φοιτῶσιν οἱ ἐντιμό-  
τατοι τῶν συνδείπνων ἐπὶ τὸ ἄριστον μόνον διὰ τὸ  
παρητῆσθαι, ἵνα μὴ δις πορεύωνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ  
τοὺς συνδείπνους ὑποδέχωνται. Ἡρόδοτος δέ φησιν  
ἐν τῇ ἐβδόμῃ ὡς οἱ ὑποδεχόμενοι Ἑλλήνων τὸν βασι-  
λέα καὶ δειπνίζοντες Ξέρξην ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ ἀφίκοντο  
οὕτως ὥστε ἐκ τῶν οἴκων ἀνάστατοι ἐγίνοντο· ὅκου  
Θασίοισιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πολίων τῶν σφε-  
τέρων δεξαμένοις τὴν Ξέρξεω στρατιὰν καὶ δειπνί-  
b σασι τετρακόσια | τάλαντα ἀργυρίου Ἀντίπατρος τῶν  
ἀστῶν ἀνὴρ ἐδαπάνησε· καὶ γὰρ ἐκπώματα ἀργυρᾶ  
καὶ χρυσᾶ καὶ κρατῆρας παρετίθεντο, καὶ ταῦτα μετὰ  
τὸ δεῖπνον < . . . > εἰ δὲ Ξέρξης δις ἐσιτέετο μετα-  
λαμβάνων καὶ ἄριστον, ἀνάστατοι ἂν ἐγεγόνεσαν αἱ  
πόλεις. καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ δὲ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν φησι· βασι-  
λήιον δεῖπνον βασιλεὺς προτίθεται. τοῦτο δὲ παρα-  
σκευάζεται ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐν ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐγένετο ὁ  
βασιλεὺς. οὖνομα δὲ τῷ δεῖπνῳ Περσιστὶ μὲν τυκτά,

<sup>105</sup> The Greek has been substantially reworked and inconsis-  
tently Atticized.

<sup>106</sup> During the Persian invasion of 480 BCE.



## BOOK IV

who hold high positions, all the food is placed on the table together; when the guests are done eating, the man in charge of the table gives some of the food left on it—and most of the meat and bread is left over—to the individual members of the household, which is how they get their provisions for the day. The most distinguished guests therefore visit the King only for lunch, because they ask to be excused from coming twice, so that they themselves can entertain dinner guests. Herodotus says in Book VII (118)<sup>105</sup> that the Greeks who entertained King Xerxes<sup>106</sup> and offered him dinner were reduced to such straits that they lost their homes; since when the Thasians entertained Xerxes' army and provided it with dinner in order to protect their cities on the mainland, Antipater, who was one of the citizens, spent 400 talents of silver on their behalf. For (cf. Hdt. 7.119.2) they set silver and gold goblets and mixing-bowls beside them, and after dinner these items . . .<sup>107</sup> And (cf. Hdt. 7.120) if Xerxes had eaten twice, by also having lunch, the cities would have been ruined. He also says in Book IX (110.2) of the *Histories*: The King was holding the royal dinner. This is prepared once each year on the King's birthday; the dinner is called *tukta* in Persian, which means *teleion* ("perfect, complete") in Greek.<sup>108</sup> On this

<sup>107</sup> The sense of the missing words can be inferred from Hdt. 7.119.3 "they would seize all the implements and march off with them, leaving nothing, but treating this as plunder."

<sup>108</sup> Herodotus did not know Persian and has certainly got the translation wrong. *-kt-* is impossible for a genuine Iranian word; but if *tukta* represents anything, it may be cognate with Middle Persian *taxt* ("throne") and *taxtag* ("board, flat surface"; cf. the Jewish Aramaic loan-word *takhtaka*, "low table or stool").

- c Ἑλληνιστὶ δὲ τέλειον. τότε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν | σμᾶται  
μοῦνον καὶ Πέρσαις δωρέεται. ὁ δὲ μέγας Ἀλέξανδρος  
δειπνῶν ἐκάστοτε μετὰ τῶν φίλων, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ἐφιπ-  
πος ὁ Ὀλύνθιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ  
Ἡφαιστίωνος Μεταλλαγῆς, ἀνήλυσκε τῆς ἡμέρας  
μνᾶς ἑκατὸν, δειπνούντων ἴσως ἐξήκοντα ἢ ἑβδομή-  
κοντα φίλων. ὁ δὲ Περσῶν βασιλεύς, ὥς φησι Κτη-  
σίας καὶ Δίνων ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς, ἐδείπνει μὲν μετὰ  
ἀνδρῶν μυρίων πεντακισχιλίων, καὶ ἀνηλίσκετο εἰς τὸ  
δείπνον τάλαντα τετρακόσια. γίνεται δὲ ταῦτα Ἰτα-  
d λικοῦ | νομίσματος ἐν μυριάσι διακοσίαις τεσσα-  
ράκοντα, αὗται δὲ εἰς μυρίους πεντακισχιλίους μερι-  
ζόμεναι ἐκάστῳ ἀνδρὶ γίνονται ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν ἐξήκοντα  
Ἰταλικοῦ νομίσματος. ὥστ' εἰς ἴσον καθίστασθαι τῷ  
τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀναλώματι· ἑκατὸν γὰρ μνᾶς ἀνή-  
λισκεν, ὡς ὁ Ἐφιππος ἱστόρησε. Μένανδρος δ' ἐν  
Μέθῃ τοῦ μεγίστου δείπνου δαπάνημα τάλαντον τί-  
θησι λέγων οὕτως·

- e εἶτ' οὐχ ὅμοια πράττομεν καὶ θύομεν;  
ὅπου γε τοῖς θεοῖς μὲν ἡγορασμένον |  
δραχμῶν ἄγω προβάτιον ἀγαπητὸν δέκα,  
αὐλητρίδας δὲ καὶ μύρον καὶ ψαλτρίας,  
† Μενδαῖον Θάσιον, ἐγχέλεις, τυρόν, μέλι,  
μικροῦ τάλαντον, γίνεται τε κατὰ λόγον.

<sup>109</sup> See 3.120e (where the work is assigned a slightly different title) with n.

## BOOK IV

day alone he smears perfume on his head and gives the Persians presents. Whenever Alexander the Great had dinner with his friends, according to Ehippus of Olynthus in his *On the Deaths of Alexander and Hephaestion*<sup>109</sup> (*FGrH* 126 F 2), he spent 100 minas<sup>110</sup> per day, and perhaps 60 or 70 of his friends were there. According to Ctesias (*FGrH* 688 F 39) and Dinon in his *History of Persia* (*FGrH* 690 F 24), the Persian king used to dine with 15,000 men and spent 400 talents on the meal. This amounts to 2,400,000 denarii<sup>111</sup>; if this is divided among 15,000 men, it comes out to 160 denarii per man. The figure is thus equal to what Alexander spent; because he spent 100 minas, according to Ehippus. Menander in *Drunkenness* (fr. 224.1–6)<sup>112</sup> sets the cost of a very large dinner at one talent, saying the following:

So doesn't how we do in life match the way we  
sacrifice?  
Since I'm bringing the gods a nice little  
goat purchased for 10 drachmas,  
whereas the cost of the dancing-girls, perfume, harp-  
girls,  
† Mendaean and Thasian wine, eels, cheese, and  
honey  
is minimal—a talent. And it's reasonable . . .

<sup>110</sup> = 10,000 drachmas, or about 167 drachmas per person, if there were 60 guests.

<sup>111</sup> A denarius was a silver Roman coin equal in value to one Attic drachma, of which there were 6000 in a talent.

<sup>112</sup> Quoted at greater length at 8.364d–e.

ὥς γὰρ ὑπερβολῆς τινος ἀναλώματος τάλαντον ὠνόμασε. καὶ ἐν Δυσκόλῳ δέ φησιν οὕτως·

ὥς θύουσι δ' οἱ τοιχωρύχοι  
κοίτας φέρονται σταμνί' οὐχὶ τῶν θεῶν  
f ἔνεκ', ἀλλ' ἑαυτῶν. ὁ λιβανωτὸς εὐσεβὲς |  
καὶ τὸ πόπανον· τοῦτ' ἔλαβεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ  
ἅπαν ἐπιτεθέν· οἱ δὲ τὴν ὀσφῦν ἄκραν  
καὶ τὴν χολήν, ὅτι ἔστ' ἄβρωτα, τοῖς θεοῖς  
ἐπιθέντες αὐτοὶ τᾶλλα καταπίνουσι.

Φιλόξενος δ' ὁ Κυθήριος ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Δείπνῳ—εἴπερ τούτου καὶ ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Φάωνι ἐμνήσθη καὶ μὴ τοῦ Λευκαδίου Φιλοξένου—τοιαύτην ἐκτίθεται παρασκευὴν δείπνου·

147 εἰς δ' ἔφερον διπλόοι  
παῖδες λιπαρῶπα τράπεζαν  
ἄμμ', ἑτέραν δ' ἑτεροῖς,  
ἄλλοις δ' ἑτέραν, μέχρι οὗ  
πλήρωσαν οἶκον· ||  
ταὶ δὲ πρὸς ὑψιλύχνους  
ἔστιλβον αὐγὰς  
εὐστέφανοι λεκάναις  
παροψίσι τ' ὀξυβάφων  
† πλήρεις † σύν τε χλιδῶσαι

113 The poem (cited repeatedly by Athenaeus, including at 9.409e, where a few additional verses from the end of this fragment are given) is written in an extravagantly “dithyrambic” style,



## BOOK IV

He thus refers to a talent as a quite exorbitant amount to spend. So too in *The Difficult Man* (Men. *Dysc.* 447–53) he says the following:

Look how the bastards sacrifice!

They bring hampers and wine-jars, not to please the  
gods

but themselves. The incense and the sacrificial cake  
are a matter of piety—the god can have that, and it's  
all

placed on the fire. They also put on the tail-bone  
and the gall bladder for the gods—because they're  
inedible. But they guzzle down the rest themselves!

Philoxenus of Cythera in his poem entitled *The Dinner* (PMG 836(b))—assuming that he rather than Philoxenus of Leucas is the man mentioned by the comic poet Plato in *Phaon* (fr. 189.4, quoted at 1.5b)—describes preparations of the following sort for a dinner:<sup>113</sup>

A pair of slaves brought in  
a bright-faced table  
for us, and another for some others,  
and for some others another, until  
they filled the room.

The tables reflected the gleam  
of the high-hung lamps,  
and were covered with bowls  
and † full of † shallow saucers  
for the side-dishes, and luxuriant

and the text as it is preserved here is full of gaps and seriously corrupt.

παντοδαποῖσι τέχνας  
 εὐρήμασι πρὸς βιοτάν,  
 ψυχᾶς δελεασματίοισι·  
 πάρφερον ἐν κανέοις  
 μάζας χιονόχροας ἄλλοι·  
 <τοῖς> δ' ἔπι πρῶτα παρήλθ'  
 οὐ κάκκαβος, ὦ φιλότας,  
 ἀλλ' † ἀλλοπλατεῖς † τὸ μέγιστον  
 † πάντ' ἔπαθεν λιπαροντες  
 εγχελεα τινες ἄριστον  
 γόγγροι τοιωνητεμων †  
 πλήρες θεοτερπές. ἐπ' αὐτῷ  
 δ' ἄλλο παρήλθε τόσον,  
 b βατὶς δ' ἐνέην ἰσόκυκλος· |  
 μικρὰ δὲ κακκάβι' ἦς  
 ἔχοντα τὸ μὲν γαλεοῦ  
 τι, ναρκίον ἄλλο < . . . >  
 < . . . > παρῆς ἕτερον  
 πίων ἀπὸ τευθιάδων  
 καὶ σηπιοπουλυποδείων  
 < . . . > ἀπαλοπλοκάμων·  
 θερμὸς μετὰ ταῦτα παρήλθεν  
 ἰσοτράπεζος ὅλος  
 † μνήστης συνόδων πυρὸς < . . . >  
 < . . . > ἔπειτα βαθμοὺς  
 ἀτμίζων ἐπὶ τῷδ' ἐπιπυσται †

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with every sort of clever  
    invention for enjoying life,  
        lures for the appetite.  
Other slaves served us barley-cakes,  
    whose skin was white as snow, in baskets;  
what came to us first after these  
    was not a cookpot, my love,  
        but [corrupt] the biggest  
† everything he suffered shiny-ing  
    eelish-some lunch  
conger-eel-of-such-cutting †  
    full and capable of pleasing a god. After it,  
another of the same size arrived,  
    and a perfectly round ray was in it.  
There were small cookpots,  
    one of which contained a bit of thresher shark,  
        another a little electric ray . . .  
. . . There was another one,  
    rich, made of squid  
        and cuttlefish-octopi  
. . . with soft tentacles.  
    After them arrived a whole  
hot four-toothed sea-bream as big as the table  
    † of wedded fire . . .  
. . . then stairs  
    emitting steam after this [corrupt] †

τευθίδες, ὦ φίλε, καὶ  
     ξανθαὶ μελικαρίδες αἱ  
         κοῦφαι παρῆλθον.  
 θρυμματίδες δ' ἐπὶ ταύ-  
     ταις εὐπέταλοι χλοεραί  
         τε † δηφαρυγες  
 πυριων τε † στεγαναὶ  
     φυσταὶ μέγαθος κατὰ κάκ-  
 c                      καβον γλυκυόξεες < . . . > |  
 ὀμφαλὸς θοίνας καλεῖται  
     παρά γ' ἐμὶν καὶ τίν, σάφ' οἶδα.  
 † εσταδα † ναὶ μὰ θεοὺς  
     ὑπερμέγεθές τι θέμος  
         θύννου μόλεν ὀπτὸν ἐκείθεν  
 † θερμὸν ὄθεν γλυφίς †  
     τετμημένον εὐθύς ἐπ' αὐτὰς  
 τὰς ὑπογαστρίδας. <αῖς>  
     διανεκέως ἐπαμύνειν  
 εἵπερ ἐμὶν τε μέλοι  
     καὶ τίν, μάλα κεν κεχαροίμεθ'.  
 ἀλλ' ὄθεν ἐλλίπομεν,  
     θοίνα παρέης † ὅτε παλάξαι  
 δύνατ' ἐπικρατέως †  
     ἔγωγ' ἔτι, κοῦ κε λέγοι τις  
 πάνθ' ἃ παρῆν ἐτύμως  
     ἄμμιν, † παρέπεσαι † δὲ θερμὸν  
 σπλάγχνον· ἔπειτα δὲ νῆ-  
 d                      στις δέλφακος οἰκετικᾶς |

## BOOK IV

Squid, my friend, and the  
     golden-brown bent  
         honey cakes arrived.  
 After these were *thrummatides*<sup>114</sup>  
     that divided easily into segments, and fresh  
         [corrupt]  
 and [corrupt] frosted  
     sweet-and-sour *phustai* the size  
         of a cookpot.

This is referred to as “the navel of the feast”  
     by us and you, I’m sure.

[corrupt], by the gods,  
     came an enormous  
         serving of roast tuna from there

† hot whence [corrupt] †  
     cut up immediately after the  
 underbellies themselves. If  
     defending these perpetually  
 were up to us

    and you, we would be quite happy.

But where we fell short,  
     the feast was there, † when to sprinkle  
 it was possible with great force †

    I still, at any rate; and no one could truthfully  
 recount everything that was there  
     for us, but [corrupt] hot  
 entrails. And then the jejunum  
     of a pig raised in the house

<sup>114</sup> For *thrummatides* and *phustai* (below), see 4.131d n. and 3.114e–f n., respectively.

καὶ νωτί' ἐσῆλθε καὶ ὅσ-  
 φῦς καὶ μινυρίγματα θερμά·  
 καὶ κεφάλαιον ὄλον  
 διαπτυχὲς ἐφθὸν † ἀπερ-  
 πευθηνος ἀλεκτοτρόφου †  
 πνικτᾶς ἐρίφου παρέθηκε,  
 εἶτα δῖεφθ' ἀκροκώ-  
 λια σχελίδας τε μετ' αὐτῶν  
 λευκοφορινοχρόους,  
 ῥύγχη κεφάλαια πόδας  
 τε χναυμάτιόν τε σεσιλ-  
 φιωμένον·  
 ἐφθά τ' ἔπειτα κρέ' ὀπ-  
 τά <τ' > ἄλλ' ἐρίφων τε καὶ ἀρνῶν,  
 ἃ θ' ὑπερωμόκρεως  
 χορδὰ γλυκίστα  
 μιξεριφαρνογενής,  
 ἃν δὴ φιλέοντι θεοί.  
 τουτ' < . . . >, ὧ φιλότας,  
 ἔσθοις κε· λαγῶά τ' ἔπειτ' |  
 ἀλεκτρυνόνων τε νεοσσοί.  
 περδίκων φάσσεων  
 τε † χύδαν ἤδη δὲ παρεβάλλετο θερμὰ  
 πολλὰ †

e

## BOOK IV

came in, along with slices off the back,  
a tail-bone, and some hot warbles<sup>115</sup>.  
And he served us a whole  
stewed head, split in two  
[corrupt]  
of a smothered she-kid.  
After this came boiled  
trotters, accompanied by ribs  
the color of white skin,  
snouts, heads, and feet,  
and a morsel flavored  
with silphium.  
And then other meat, stewed  
and roasted, of kids and lambs,  
and the most delicious sausage,  
made of meat cut from above the shoulder  
from a mix of kids and lambs,  
which the gods are fond of.  
This . . . , my dear,  
you would eat. And then hare-meat  
and cockerels.  
Of partridges and ringdoves  
† in heaps now but were set beside us many hot †

<sup>115</sup> Roasted songbirds?



# ATHENAEUS

καὶ μαλακοπτυχέων  
 ἄρτων· ὁμοσύζυγα δὲ  
 ξανθὸν τ' ἐπεισῆλ-  
 θεν μέλι καὶ γάλα σύμπακ-  
 τον, τό κε τυρὸν ἅπας τις  
 ἦμεν ἔφασχ' ἀπαλόν,  
 κῆγὼν ἐφάμαν· ὅτε δ' ἤδη  
 βρωτύος ἡδὲ ποτᾶ-  
 τος ἐς κόρον ἦμεν ἐταῖροι,  
 τῆνα μὲν ἔξαπάει-  
 ρον δμῶες, ἔπειτα δὲ παῖ-  
 δες νίπτρ' ἔδοσαν κατὰ χειρῶν.

Σωκράτης δὲ ὁ Ῥόδιος ἐν τρίτῳ Ἐμφυλίου Πο-  
 λέμου τὸ Κλεοπάτρας ἀναγράφων συμπόσιον τῆς  
 f τελευταίας | Αἰγύπτου βασιλευσάσης, γημαμένης δ'  
 Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγῷ<sup>11</sup>, φησὶν οὕτως·  
 ἀπαντήσασα τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα ἐν Κιλικίᾳ  
 παρεσκεύασεν αὐτῷ βασιλικὸν συμπόσιον, ἐν ᾧ πάν-  
 τα χρύσεια καὶ λιθοκόλλητα περιττῶς ἐξεργασμένα  
 ταῖς τέχναις· ἦσαν δέ, φησί, καὶ οἱ τοῖχοι ἀλουργέσι  
 καὶ διαχρύσοις ἐμπεπετασμένοι ὕφεσι. καὶ δώδεκα  
 τρίκλινα διαστρώσασα ἐκάλεσε τὸν Ἀντώνιον μεθ' ὧν  
 148 ἐβούλετο ἡ Κλεοπάτρα. || τοῦ δὲ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῆς  
 ὄψεως ἐκπλαγέντος ὑπομειδιάσασα ταῦτ' ἔφη πάντα  
 δωρεῖσθαι αὐτῷ καὶ εἰς αὔριον παρεκάλει συνδειπνή-  
 σαι πάλιν ἥκοντα μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων·

<sup>11</sup> στρατηγῷ ἐν Κιλικίᾳ A: βασιλεῖ ἐν Κιλικίᾳ CE

## BOOK IV

and of softly folded  
bread. And a mixture  
of blond honey and curdled milk  
came in; everyone said  
that the cheese was tender,  
and I agreed. And when now  
those of us in the group reached satiety  
of food and drink,  
servants removed those things; then slaves  
poured washing-water over our hands.

Socrates of Rhodes in Book III of his *Civil War* (FGrH 192 F 1) describes the drinking party given by Cleopatra, the last queen of Egypt,<sup>116</sup> who married the Roman general Antonius,<sup>117</sup> saying the following: When Cleopatra met Antonius in Cilicia, she prepared a royal drinking party for him, all the vessels for which were made of gold, set with gems, and elaborately worked. And he says that the walls were hung with purple tapestries through which ran threads of gold. Cleopatra spread bed-clothes over couches in 12 *triclinia*<sup>118</sup> and invited Antonius to come with anyone he wanted. When he expressed astonishment at the expensive display, she smiled slightly, said that all these objects were a gift for him, and invited him to come and dine with her again on the next day along with his friends and commanders. Then she arranged for this party

<sup>116</sup> Cleopatra VII (reigned 51–30 BCE). The events referred to here took place in 41/0 in the city of Tarsus.

<sup>117</sup> Marcus Antonius, who had defeated Cassius and Brutus at Philippi in 42 BCE and was now in control of the eastern half of the Empire and of Gaul.

<sup>118</sup> Banquet rooms fitted with three couches.

- ὅτε καὶ πολλῶ κρεῖττον διακοσμήσασα τὸ συμπόσιον ἐποίησε φανῆναι τὰ πρῶτα μικρά, καὶ πάλιν καὶ ταῦτα ἐδωρήσατο. τῶν δ' ἡγεμόνων ἐφ' ἧ ἕκαστος κατέκειτο κλίνη καὶ τὰ κυλικεῖα καθὼς ταῖς στρωμναῖς ἐμεμέριστο, ἐκάστῳ φέρειν ἐπέτρεψε. καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄφοδον τοῖς μὲν ἐν ἀξιώμασι φορεῖα σὺν | τοῖς κομίζουσι, τοῖς πλείοσι δὲ καταργύροις σκευαῖς κεκοσμημένους ἵππους, πᾶσι δὲ λαμπτηροφόρους παῖδας Αἰθίοπας παρέστησε. τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν τανταλταίους εἰς ῥόδα μισθοὺς διέδωκε, καὶ κατεστρώθη ἐπὶ πηχυαῖα βάθη τὰ ἐδάφη τῶν ἀνδρώνων ἐμπεπετασμένων δικτύων τοῖς ἔλιξιν. ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐν Ἀθήναις μετὰ ταῦτα διατρίψαντα περίοπτον ὑπὲρ τὸ θέατρον κατασκευάσαντα σχεδίαν χλωρᾷ πεπυκασμένην ὕλην, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν Βακχικῶν ἄντρων γίνεται, | ταύτης τύμπανα καὶ νεβρίδας καὶ παντοδαπὰ ἄλλ' ἀθύρματα Διονυσιακὰ ἐξαρτήσαντα μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐξ ἐωθινοῦ κατακλινόμενον μεθύσκεσθαι, λειτουργούντων αὐτῷ τῶν ἐξ Ἰταλίας μεταπεμφθέντων ἀκροαμάτων συνηθροισμένων ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν τῶν Πανελλήνων. μετέβαινε δ' ἐνίοτε, φησὶν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν λαμπάσι δαδουχουμένης πάσης τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως. καὶ ἔκτοτε ἐκέλευσεν ἑαυτὸν Διόνυσον ἀνακηρύττεσθαι κατὰ τὰς πόλεις ἀπάσας. | καὶ Γάιος δὲ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ὁ Καλλίκολα προσαγορευθεὶς διὰ τὸ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ γεννηθῆναι οὐ μόνον ὠνομάζετο νέος Διόνυσος, ἀλλὰ καὶ

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to be far more elaborate, making the equipment for the first seem insignificant; and once again she presented everything to him as a gift. The couches on which his individual commanders reclined and the cup-stands, along with the bed-clothes, were also divided up, and she gave each of them a share to take home. When they left, she provided litters and bearers for the men of high rank, and horses decked out with silver-plated trappings for the majority of them; and she furnished them all with Ethiopian slaves carrying torches. On the fourth day she distributed a talent's worth of money to pay for roses, and the floors of the banquet rooms were covered a cubit deep with them braided into a mesh and spread out over everything. He also reports that when Antonius himself spent some time in Athens after this, he had a roughly framed hut built in a conspicuous spot above the Theater and covered with green brushwood, as they do with Bacchic "caves"; and he hung drums, fawnskins, and other Dionysiac paraphernalia of all sorts in it. He lay inside with his friends, beginning at dawn, and got drunk; musicians summoned from Italy entertained him, and the whole Greek world gathered to watch. Sometimes, he says, Antonius moved up onto the Acropolis, and the entire city of Athens was illuminated by the lamps that hung from the ceilings. He also gave orders that from then on he was to be proclaimed as Dionysus throughout all the cities. So too the emperor Gaius,<sup>119</sup> who was called Caligula because he was born in an army camp, was not only referred to as a new Dionysus, but actually

<sup>119</sup> Reigned 37–41 CE. The explanation of his nickname that follows is slightly garbled: Caligula is derived from Latin *caliga*, a type of military boot Gaius wore in the camps as a boy.

τὴν Διονυσιακὴν πᾶσαν ἐνδύνων στολὴν προήει καὶ οὕτως ἐσκευασμένος ἐδίκαζεν.

Εἰς ταῦτα ἔστιν ἀποβλέποντας τὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἀγαπᾶν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν πενίαν, λαμβάνοντας πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ τὰ παρὰ Θηβαίοις δεῖπνα, περὶ ὧν Κλείταρχος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἱστοριῶν, διηγούμενος καὶ ὅτι ὁ πᾶς αὐτῶν πλοῦτος ἠϋρέθη  
 e μετὰ | τὴν ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τῆς πόλεως κατασκαφὴν ἐν ταλάντοις τετρακοσίοις τεσσαράκοντα, φησὶν ὅτι τε μικρόψυχοι ἦσαν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν τροφὴν λίχνοι, παρασκευάζοντες ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις θρία καὶ ἐψητοὺς καὶ ἀφύας καὶ ἐγκρασιχόλους καὶ ἀλλᾶντας καὶ σχελίδας καὶ ἔτνος· οἷσι Μαρδόνιον εἰστίασε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πεντήκοντα Περσῶν Ἀτταγῖνος ὁ Φρύνωνος, ὃν φησιν Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ μεγάλως<sup>12</sup> παρεσκευ-  
 f ἀσθαι. ἡγοῦμαι <δ> ὅτι οὐκ ἂν περιεγέγοντο | οὐδ' ἂν ἐδέησε τοῖς Ἑλλησι περὶ Πλαταιᾶς παρατάττεσθαι ἀπολωλόσιν ἤδη ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων τροφῶν.

Ἀρκαδικὸν δὲ δείπνον διαγράφων ὁ Μιλήσιος Ἐκαταῖος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Γενεαλογιῶν μάζας φησὶν εἶναι καὶ ὕεα κρέα. Ἀρμόδιος δὲ ὁ Λεπρεάτης ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Κατὰ Φιγάλειαν Νομίμων, ὁ κατασταθείς, φησί, παρὰ Φιγαλεῦσι σίταρχος ἔφερε τῆς ἡμέρας οἴνου τρεῖς χόας καὶ ἀλφίτων μέδιμνον καὶ τυροῦ πεντάμνον καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἄρτυσιν τῶν ἱερεί-

<sup>12</sup> μεγάλως πλούτῳ A

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put on the full Dionysiac outfit, and went out in public and sat in judgment dressed that way.

When we consider these things, which are far beyond what we have, we can appreciate Greek poverty if we have before our eyes the dinner parties given by the Thebans, which Cleitarchus describes in Book I of his *Histories of Alexander* (FGrH 137 F 1). He explains there that after the city was destroyed by Alexander,<sup>120</sup> its wealth was found to total 440 talents; but he says that they were petty-minded and greedy where food was concerned, and for their dinner parties they prepared fig-leaf pastries, boiled small-fry, sprats and anchovies, sausages, ribs, and pea-soup. This is the food on which Attaginus the son of Phrynon feasted Mardonius and 50 other Persians, although Herodotus claims in Book IX (16.1) that Attaginus made elaborate preparations. But I think that they could not have won and that it would not even have been necessary for the Greeks to have drawn up their troops against them at Plataea, if they had already been devastated by food like this.

Hecataeus of Miletus offers a sketch of an Arcadian dinner in Book III of his *Genealogies* (FGrH 1 F 9), saying that it consisted of barley-cakes and pork. Harmodius of Lepreum says in his *On the Customs in Phigaleia* (FGrH 319 F 1): The man who was appointed *sitarchos* ("commissary officer, quartermaster") in Phigaleia used to supply three *choes*<sup>121</sup> of wine every day, along with a *medimnos*<sup>122</sup> of barley groats, five minas<sup>123</sup> of cheese, and whatever was

<sup>120</sup> In 335 BCE; Thebes had revolted from Macedonian authority and was made an example of.

<sup>121</sup> About three gallons; cf. 3.118a n.

<sup>122</sup> About eight bushels; cf. 2.67f n.

<sup>123</sup> Four to five pounds.



- 149 ων ἀρμόττοντα. || ἡ δὲ πόλις παρείχεν ἑκατέρῳ τῶν χορῶν τρία πρόβατα καὶ μάγειρον ὑδριαφόρον τε καὶ τραπέζας καὶ βάθρα πρὸς τὴν καθέδραν καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ἅπασαν παρασκευήν, τὴν δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν μάγειρον σκευῶν ὁ χορηγός. τὸ δὲ δεῖπνον ἦν τοιοῦτο· τυρὸς καὶ φυστὴ μᾶζα νόμον χάριν ἐπὶ χαλκῶν κανῶν τῶν παρά τισι καλουμένων μαζονόμων, ἀπὸ τῆς χρείας εἰληφότων τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν· ὁμοῦ δὲ τῇ μάζῃ καὶ τῷ τυρῷ σπλάγχνον καὶ ἄλλες προσφαγεῖν. καθαγισάντων | δὲ ταῦτα ἐν κεραμέα κοτταβίδι πιεῖν ἑκάστω μικρόν, καὶ ὁ προσφέρων ἂν εἶπεν “εὐδειπνίας.” εἶτα δ’ εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ζωμὸς καὶ περίκομμα, πρόσχερα δὲ ἑκάστω δύο κρέα. ἐνόμιζον δ’ ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς δεῖπνοις, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς λεγομένοις μαζῶσι—τοῦτο γὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἡ Διονυσιακὴ σύνοδος ἔχει τοῦνομα—τοῖς ἐσθίουσι τῶν νέων ἀνδρικώτερον ζωμόν τ’ ἐγχεῖν πλείω καὶ μάζας καὶ ἄρτους παραβάλλειν. γενναῖος γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐκρίνετο καὶ ἀνδρώδης ὑπάρχειν· θαυμαστὸν γὰρ ἦν | καὶ περιβόητον παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἡ πολυφαγία. μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον σπονδὰς ἐποιοῦντο οὐκ ἀπονουσάμενοι τὰς χεῖρας, ἀλλ’ ἀποματτόμενοι τοῖς ψωμοῖς καὶ τὴν ἀπομαγδαλίαν ἕκαστος ἀπέφερε, τοῦτο ποιοῦντες ἔνεκα τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀμφόδοις γινομένων

<sup>124</sup> The man charged with paying and outfitting a chorus for a state-sponsored festival. What is described here is probably a post-performance celebration.



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needed to season the sacrificial meat. The city supplied each chorus with three sheep or goats, a cook, a slave to haul water, and tables, benches to sit on, and all the equipment of this sort, while the *choregos*<sup>124</sup> supplied the cook's utensils. The dinner was of the following sort: cheese and lightly-kneaded barley-cakes<sup>125</sup> served, as the law required, in bronze baskets referred to by some authorities as *mazonomoi* ("barley-cake dispensers"), which got their name from the use to which they were put; in addition to the barley-cakes and the cheese, there were entrails and salt to eat with them. After they dedicated these items, each guest was given a little wine to drink in an earthenware *cottabus*-basin; the man who served it would say "Enjoy your dinner!" After this, there was broth and hash, which everyone shared, and two pieces of meat *proschera*<sup>126</sup> for each person. At all their dinners, but especially those referred to as *mazones*<sup>127</sup>—this name is still used today for the Dionysiac guild—it was their custom to pour more broth into the bowls of the young men who ate more heartily, and to serve them more barley-cakes and bread. This is because they considered such individuals noble and manly, since gluttony was regarded as something that deserved respect and acclaim. After the dinner, they made libations; but rather than washing their hands first, they wiped themselves clean with pieces of bread, which they took with them when they left. They did this because of the frightening events that occurred in the

<sup>125</sup> A *phustē*; cf. 3.114e–f.

<sup>126</sup> The meaning of the word is obscure ("ready at hand," i.e. "for him alone," in contrast to the food the company shared?).

<sup>127</sup> Cognate with *maza*, "barley-cake."

νυκτερινῶν φόβων. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν σπονδῶν παιὰν ᾄδεται. ὅταν δὲ τοῖς ἥρωσι θύωσι, βουθυσία μεγάλη γίνεται καὶ ἐστιῶνται πάντες μετὰ τῶν δούλων· οἱ δὲ παῖδες ἐν ταῖς ἐστιάσεσι μετὰ τῶν πατέρων ἐπὶ λίθων καθήμε-  
 d νοι γυμνοὶ συνδειπνοῦσιν. | Θεόπομπος δ' ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῇ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν, οἱ Ἀρκάδες, φησὶν, ἐν ταῖς ἐστιάσεσιν ὑποδέχονται τοὺς δεσπότας καὶ τοὺς δούλους, καὶ μίαν πᾶσι τράπεζαν παρασκευάζουσι καὶ τὰ σιτία πᾶσιν εἰς τὸ μέσον παρατιθέασιν καὶ κρατῆρα τὸν αὐτὸν πᾶσι κιρνᾶσι.

Παρὰ δὲ Ναυκρατίταις, ὥς φησιν Ἑρμείας ἐν τῷ  
 e δευτέρῳ τῶν Περὶ τοῦ Γρυνείου Ἀπόλλωνος, | ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ δειπνοῦσι γενεθλίοις Ἑστίας Πρυτανίτιδος καὶ Διονυσίοις, ἔτι δὲ τῇ τοῦ Κωμαίου Ἀπόλλωνος πανηγύρει, εἰσιόντες πάντες ἐν στολαῖς λευκαῖς, ἅς μέχρι καὶ νῦν καλοῦσι πρυτανικὰς ἐσθῆτας. καὶ κατακλιθέντες ἐπανίστανται εἰς γόνατα τοῦ ἱεροκῆρυκος τὰς πατρίους εὐχὰς καταλέγοντος συσπένδοντες. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κατακλιθέντες λαμβάνουσιν ἕκαστος οἴνου κοτύλας δύο πλὴν τῶν ἱερέων τοῦ τε Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τοῦ Διονύσου· τούτων γὰρ ἑκατέρῳ διπλοῦς ὁ οἶνος μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μερίδων δίδοται.  
 f ἔπειτα ἑκάστῳ παρατίθεται ἄρτος καθαρὸς | εἰς πλάτος πεποιημένος, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐπίκειται ἄρτος ἕτερος, ὃν κριβανίτην καλοῦσι, καὶ κρέας ὕειον καὶ λεκάριον πτισάνης ἢ λαχάνου τοῦ κατὰ καιρὸν γινομένου ὧς τε

<sup>128</sup> The idea is apparently that the bread was left at crossroads

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streets at night.<sup>128</sup> After the libations, a paeon is sung. But when they sacrifice to the heroes, they slaughter a large number of cattle, and everyone feasts with his slaves; their children dine along with them at their feasts, sitting without a cloak on stones next to their fathers. Theopompus says in Book XLVI of his *History of Philip* (FGrH 115 F 215): The Arcadians entertain both the masters and the slaves at their feasts, and they prepare a single table for everyone, put the food in the midst of them all, and mix wine in one mixing-bowl for everyone.

In Naucratis, according to Hermeias in Book II of his *On Gryneian Apollo* (fr. 2, FHG ii.80–1), a dinner is held in the prytaneion on the birthday of Hestia Prytanitis and during festivals of Dionysus, as well as at the festival of Apollo Komaïos; they all come in wearing white robes, which they refer to even today as “prytanic clothing.” They lie down, and then rise again to their knees and join in a libation as the sacred herald recites the ancestral prayers. After this they lie down, and each of them gets two *ko-tulai*<sup>129</sup> of wine, except for the priests of Pythian Apollo and Dionysus, each of whom is given twice as much wine, as well as his portion of everything else. Then each man is served a flat loaf of good bread, with another loaf of bread, which they refer to as *kribanitēs* (“baking-shell bread”)<sup>130</sup>, on top, along with some pork, a little dish of barley-gruel or whatever vegetable is in season, two eggs, a wheel of

shrines of the sinister nocturnal goddess Hecate, in the hope that she would furnish her suppliants with protection during their journey home.

<sup>129</sup> About two cups; cf. 4.129b with n.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. 3.109f.

δύο καὶ τυροῦ τροφαλὶς σῦκά τε ξηρὰ καὶ πλακοῦς καὶ  
 στέφανος. καὶ ὃς ἂν ἔξω τι τούτων ἱεροποιὸς παρα-  
 σκευάσῃ ὑπὸ τῶν τιμούχων ζημιούται, ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ  
 τοῖς σιτουμένοις ἐν πρυτανείῳ ἔξωθεν προσεισφέρειν  
 τι βρώσιμον ἔξεστι, μόνα δὲ ταῦτα καταναλίσκουσι,  
 150 τὰ ὑπολειπόμενα τοῖς οἰκέταις μεταδιδόντες. ἥ ταῖς δ'  
 ἄλλαις ἡμέραις πάσαις τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἔξεστι τῶν σι-  
 τουμένων τῷ βουλομένῳ ἀνελθόντι εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον  
 δειπνεῖν, οἴκοθεν παρασκευάσαντα αὐτῷ λάχανόν τι ἢ  
 τῶν ὀσπρίων καὶ τάριχος ἢ ἰχθύν, κρέως δὲ χοιρείου  
 βραχύτατον, καὶ τούτων μεταλαμβάνων < . . . >  
 κοτύλην οἴνου. γυναικὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔξεστιν εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ  
 πρυτανεῖον ἢ μόνη τῇ αὐλητρίδι. οὐκ εἰσφέρεται δὲ  
 οὐδὲ ἄμις εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον. ἐὰν δέ τις Ναυκρατιτῶν  
 γάμους ἐστιᾷ, ὥς ἐν τῷ γαμικῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται,  
 b ἀπείρηται ᾧ καὶ μελίπηκτα ἢ δίδοσθαι. τίς δὲ ἢ  
 τούτων αἰτία, Οὐλπιανὸς ἡμᾶς διδάσκειν δίκαιος.

Λυκέας δ' ἐν τοῖς Αἰγυπτιακοῖς προκρίνων τὰ Αἰ-  
 γυπτιακὰ δεῖπνα τῶν Περσικῶν, Αἰγυπτίων ἐπιστρα-  
 τευσάντων, φησὶν, ἐπὶ Ὡχον τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα  
 καὶ νικηθέντων, ἐπεὶ ἐγένετο αἰχμάλωτος ὁ τῶν Αἰ-  
 γυπτίων βασιλεὺς, ὁ Ὡχος αὐτὸν φιλανθρώπως ἄγων  
 ἐκάλεσε καὶ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον. τῆς οὖν παρασκευῆς γενο-  
 μένης λαμπρᾶς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος κατεγέλα ὥς εὐτελῶς τοῦ

131 The challenge is never taken up.

132 Ochos is the proper Persian personal name for Artaxerxes



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cheese, some dried figs, a cake, and a garland. If the official in charge of the rite provides anything beyond this, the magistrates fine him. Moreover, those who eat in the prytaneion are not allowed to bring in any other food from outside, but can only consume the items mentioned above; they give the leftovers to their slaves. On every other day of the year, anyone eligible for maintenance there who wishes can come into the prytaneion for dinner and bring with him food he prepared for himself at home, such as a vegetable, some beans or lentils, fresh or salted fish, or a little bit of pork. And while partaking of them . . . a *kotulē* of wine. No woman may enter the prytaneion except the pipe-girl. A pisspot may not be brought into the prytaneion. If one of the inhabitants of Naucratis gives a wedding feast, according to the law about weddings, he is forbidden to serve eggs or honey cake. But Ulpian is the right person to tell us why this is so.<sup>131</sup>

Lyceas in his *History of Egypt* (FGrH 613 F 4) expresses a preference for Egyptian dinners over Persian ones when he says: The Egyptians mounted an expedition against Ochus the king of Persia and were defeated.<sup>132</sup> When the Egyptian king was captured, Ochus treated him humanely and actually invited him to dinner. Although the meal was magnificent, the Egyptian laughed at the Persian

III (reigned 359/8–338 BCE). The Egyptian king referred to below is Tachos (reigned c.362–360 BCE), who was actually deposed when he was out of the country during an invasion of Syria, and who fled to Persia for safety and was thus Artaxerxes' guest rather than his prisoner, explaining the kindness with which he was treated. The anecdote is modeled on the story about Pausanias told at Hdt. 9.82 and quoted at 4.138c–d.

Πέρσον διαιτωμένον. “εἰ δὲ θέλεις εἰδέναι,” ἔφη, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, | πῶς δεῖ σιτεῖσθαι τοὺς εὐδαίμονας βασι-  
c λέας, ἐπίτρεψον τοῖς ἐμοῖς ποτε γενομένοις μαγείροις  
παρασκευάσαι σοι Αἰγύπτιον δείπνον.” καὶ κελεύσαν-  
τος, ἐπεὶ παρεσκευάσθη, ἦσθεις ὁ Ὡχος τῷ δείπνῳ,  
“κακὸν κακῶς σε,” ἔφη, “ὦ Αἰγύπτιε, ἀπολέσειαν οἱ  
θεοί, ὅστις δείπνα τοιαῦτα καταλιπὼν ἐπεθύμησας  
θοίνης εὐτελεστέρας.” τίνα δ’ ἦν τὰ Αἰγύπτια δείπνα  
Πρωταγορίδης ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ Δαφνικῶν Ἀγώνων  
διδάσκει ἡμᾶς λέγων οὕτως· τρίτη δέ ἐστιν ἰδέα  
d δείπνων Αἰγυπτιακῇ | τραπεζῶν μὲν οὐ παρατιθεμέ-  
νων, πινάκων δὲ περιφερομένων.

Παρὰ δὲ Γαλάταις φησὶ Φύλαρχος ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ  
ταῖς τραπέζαις ἄρτους πολλοὺς κατακεκλασμένους  
παρατίθεσθαι χύδην καὶ κρέατα ἐκ τῶν λεβήτων, ὧν  
οὔδεις γεύεται εἰ μὴ πρότερον θεάσῃται τὸν βασιλέα  
εἰ ἤψατο τῶν παρακειμένων. ἐν δὲ τῇ τρίτῃ ὁ αὐτὸς  
Φύλαρχος Ἀριάμνην φησὶ τὸν Γαλάτην πλουσιώτα-  
τον ὄντα ἐπαγγείλασθαι ἐστιᾶσαι Γαλάτας πάντας  
e ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ τοῦτο συντελέσαι | ποιήσαντα οὕτως.  
κατὰ τόπους τῆς χώρας τὰς ἐπικαιροτάτας τῶν ὁδῶν  
διέλαβε σταθμοῖς ἐπὶ τε τούτοις ἐκ χαράκων καὶ  
καλάμων τῶν οἰσύνων<sup>13</sup> ἐπεβάλλετο σκηναὺς χωρού-  
σας ἀνὰ τετρακοσίους ἄνδρας καὶ πλείους ἔτι, καθὼς  
ἂν ἐκποιῶσιν οἱ τόποι τό τ’ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων δέξασθαι  
καὶ τῶν κωμῶν μέλλον ἐπιρρεῖν πλήθος. ἐνταῦθα δὲ  
λέβητας ἐπέστησε κρεῶν παντοδαπῶν μεγάλους, οὓς  
πρὸ ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μέλλειν μεταπεμφάμενος

## BOOK IV

for living inexpensively. "If you would like to know, O King," he said, "how wealthy kings ought to eat, let the men who used to be my cooks prepare an Egyptian dinner." The order was given and the preparations made, and Ochos enjoyed the meal and said: "You deserve whatever bad end the gods bring you to, Egyptian, since you left dinners like these behind and wanted to feast on something cheaper!" Protagorides informs us about what Egyptian dinners were like in Book I of *On the Games at Daphne* (FGrH 853 F 1), saying the following: The third type of dinner is the Egyptian, in which tables are not set beside the guests, and trays are brought around instead.

Among the Celts, according to Phylarchus in Book VI (FGrH 81 F 9), many loaves of bread are broken into pieces and placed on the tables in a heap along with chunks of meat from the cauldrons; but no one tastes anything until he sees that the king has touched the food he was served. In Book III the same Phylarchus (FGrH 81 F 2) says that Ariamnes the Celt, who was extremely wealthy, announced that he would feast all the Celts for a year, and did this by making the following arrangements. He set stations along the most convenient roads in various parts of the country and installed shelters in them made of poles and willow branches and large enough to hold 400 men or more, so that the places would be sufficiently spacious to accommodate the crowds likely to stream there from the cities and villages. He installed large cauldrons full of meat of every kind in them; he summoned craftsmen from other cities the previous year, in advance of when he intended to

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<sup>13</sup> καὶ τῶν καλᾶμων τῶν τε οἰσύνων ACE



f τεχνίτας ἐξ ἄλλων | πόλεων ἐχαλκεύσατο. θύματα δὲ καταβάλλεσθαι ταύρων καὶ συνῶν καὶ προβάτων τε καὶ <τῶν> λοιπῶν κτηνῶν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας πολλά, πίθους τε οἴνου παρεσκευάσθαι καὶ πλῆθος ἀλφίτων πεφυραμένων. καὶ οὐ μόνον, φησὶν, οἱ παραγινόμενοι τῶν Γαλατῶν ἀπὸ τῶν κωμῶν καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀπέλαυνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ παριόντες ξένοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφεστηκότων παίδων οὐκ ἠφίεντο ἕως ἂν μεταλάβωσι τῶν παρασκευασθέντων.

Θρακίων δὲ δείπνων μνημονεύει Ξενοφῶν ἐν ἐβδόμῳ Ἀναβάσεως τὸ παρὰ Σεύθῃ διαγράφων συμπόσιον ἐν τούτοις· || ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰσῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ δείπνον πάντες (τὸ δὲ δείπνον ἦν καθημένοις κύκλῳ), ἔπειτα δὲ τρίποδες εἰσηνέχθησαν πᾶσιν. οὗτοι δὲ ὅσον εἴκοσι κρεῶν μεστοὶ νενεμημένων καὶ ἄρτοι ζύμητες μεγάλοι προσπεπερονημένοι ἦσαν πρὸς τοῖς κρέασι. μάλιστα δ' αἱ τράπεζαι κατὰ τοὺς ξένους αἰεὶ ἐτίθεντο· νόμος γὰρ ἦν. καὶ πρῶτος τοῦτ' ἐποίει Σεύθης· ἀνελόμενος τοὺς παρ' αὐτῷ κειμένους ἄρτους διέκλα κατὰ μικρὰ καὶ διερρίπτει οἷς αὐτῷ ἐδόκει καὶ τὰ κρέα ὡσαύτως, b ὅσον μόνον γεύσασθαι ἑαυτῷ καταλιπών. | καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐποιοῦν, καθ' οὓς καὶ αἱ τράπεζαι ἔκειντο. Ἀρκὰς δέ τις Ἀρύστας ὄνομα, φαγεῖν δεινός, τὸ μὲν διαρριπτεῖν εἴα χαίρειν, λαβὼν δ' εἰς τὴν χεῖρα ὅσον τριχοίνικον ἄρτον καὶ κρέα θέμενος ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα ἐδείπνει. κέρατα δὲ οἴνου περιέφερον καὶ πάντες ἐδέχοντο. ὁ δὲ Ἀρύστας ἐπεὶ παρ'

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do this, and had these forged. Large numbers of bulls, pigs, sheep and goats, and other animals were sacrificed every day; and casks of wine had been prepared and an immense quantity of barley groats mixed up in advance. Nor was it just the Celts, he says, who came there from their villages and cities who benefitted; because the slaves in charge of the meal refused to let any foreigners who passed by get away until they had their share of the food being served.

Xenophon mentions Thracian dinners in Book VII (3.21–32, condensed) of the *Anabasis*, where he describes the drinking party given by Seuthes, as follows: After everyone came in to dinner (the meal was eaten sitting in a circle), tables were brought in for the whole group. There were about 20 of these, covered with portions of meat; and large loaves of leavened bread had been attached to the meat on skewers. The tables were quite consistently placed in front of the foreigners<sup>133</sup>, because this was their custom. Seuthes was the first to do the following: he picked up the loaves of bread that were lying next to him and began to break them into little pieces and throw them about to whomever he wanted. He did the same with the meat, leaving himself only enough for a taste; the others who had tables set before them followed his example. But an Arcadian named Arystas, who had an incredible appetite, wanted nothing to do with flinging food around, but grabbed a huge<sup>134</sup> loaf of bread and some meat, set them on his lap, and started eating. They were bringing drinking-horns full of wine around, and everyone was taking them. But when the cupbearer came to Arystas with the

<sup>133</sup> I.e. the Greeks.

<sup>134</sup> Literally “three-*choinix*,” i.e. “gallon-sized” (cf. 3.98e n.).

αὐτὸν φέρων τὸ κέρας ὁ οἰνοχόος ἦν, εἶπεν ἰδὼν τὸν  
 Ξενοφῶντα οὐκ ἔτι δειπνοῦντα· “ἐκείνῳ,” ἔφη, “δός· σχο-  
 λάζει γὰρ ἤδη, ἐγὼ δ’ οὐπω.” ἐνταῦθα μὲν δὴ γέλως  
 c ἐγένετο. | ἐπεὶ δὲ προυχώρει ὁ πότος, εἰσῆλθεν ἀνὴρ  
 Θραῶξ ἵππον ἔχων λευκὸν καὶ λαβὼν κέρας μεστόν,  
 “προπίνω σοι, ὦ Σεύθῃ,” ἔφη, “καὶ τὸν ἵππον δωροῦμαι,  
 ἐφ’ οὗ καὶ διώκων ὃν ἂν θέλῃς αἰρήσεις καὶ ἀποχωρῶν  
 οὐ μὴ δείσης τὸν πολέμιον.” ἄλλος παῖδα εἰσαγαγὼν  
 οὕτως ἐδωρήσατο προπίνων καὶ ἄλλος ἱμάτια τῇ γυ-  
 ναικί, καὶ Τιμασίων προπίνων φιάλην τε ἀργυρᾶν καὶ  
 ταπίδα ἀξίαν δέκα μνῶν. Γνήσιππος δέ τις Ἀθηναῖος  
 d ἀναστὰς εἶπεν ὅτι ἀρχαῖος εἴη νόμος κάλλιστος τοὺς |  
 μὲν ἔχοντας διδόναι τῷ βασιλεῖ τιμῆς ἕνεκα, τοῖς δὲ  
 μὴ ἔχουσι διδόναι τὸν βασιλέα. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἀνέστη  
 θαρσαλέως καὶ δεξάμενος τὸ κέρας εἶπεν· “ἐγὼ σοι, ὦ  
 Σεύθῃ, δίδωμι ἑμαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς τούτους ἐταί-  
 ρους φίλους εἶναι πιστοὺς καὶ οὐδένα ἄκοντα. καὶ νῦν  
 πάρειςιν οὐδέν σε προσαιτοῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πονεῖν  
 ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ προκινδυνεύειν βουλόμενοι.” καὶ ὁ Σεύ-  
 θῃς ἀναστὰς συνέπια καὶ συγκατεσκεδάσατο μετ’ αὐ-  
 e τοῦ τὸ κέρας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰσῆλθον κέρασί τε οἷοις |  
 σημαίνουσιν αὐλοῦντες καὶ σάλπιγξιν ὠμοβοείαις  
 ῥυθμούς τε καὶ οἶονεὶ μάγαδιν σαλπίζοντες.

Ποσειδώνιος δὲ ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς ἐν ταῖς Ἱστορίαις,  
 αἷς συνέθηκεν οὐκ ἀλλοτρίως ἥς προήρητο φιλοσο-

135 PAA 279700; otherwise unknown.

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horn, Arystas saw that Xenophon was no longer eating and said: "Give it to him! He has time on his hands now, whereas I don't!" This provoked some laughter. As the drinking proceeded, a Thracian came in with a white horse, took a horn full of wine, and said: "I drink to you, Seuthes, and present you with this horse. When you're riding him, you'll catch anyone you want to chase; and if you retreat, you'll have no need to fear your enemy!" Another man brought in a slave and presented him to Seuthes in the same way, drinking his health; a third offered him robes for his wife; and Timasion toasted him and presented him with a silver libation-bowl and a carpet worth ten minas. An Athenian named Gnesippus<sup>135</sup> stood up and said that it was an old and admirable custom for wealthy men to show the king honor by offering him gifts, and for the king in turn to provide presents for the poor. Xenophon got his courage up, stood up, took the drinking horn, and said: "The gift I have to offer you, Seuthes, is that I and my companions here will be your reliable and willing friends. They're not here now with any requests for you; instead, they wish to work hard for you and run risks on your behalf." And Seuthes stood up and joined Xenophon in taking a drink and dumping out the rest of the contents of the horn. After this, men came in playing pipe-music on the horns they use for signals and trumpeting rhythmically with two tones at the same time on trumpets made of the horns of wild oxen.<sup>136</sup>

Posidonius the Stoic in his *Histories* (FGrH 87 F \*15 = fr. 67 Edelstein-Kidd), which he compiled by recording

<sup>136</sup> Literally "as if they were playing a *magadis*," a pipe capable of producing two tones at once; cf. 4.182d.

φίας πολλὰ παρὰ πολλοῖς ἔθιμα καὶ νόμιμα ἀνα-  
 γράφων, Κελτοί, φησί, τὰς τροφὰς προτίθενται χόρ-  
 τον ὑποβάλλοντες καὶ ἐπὶ τραπεζῶν ξυλίνων μικρὸν  
 ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐπηρμένων. ἡ τροφή δ' ἐστὶν ἄρτοι μὲν  
 ὀλίγοι, κρέα δὲ πολλὰ ἐν ὕδατι καὶ ὀπτὰ ἐπ' ἀνθράκων  
 152 ἢ ὀβελίσκων. || προσφέρονται δὲ ταῦτα καθαρείως  
 μὲν, λεοντωδῶς δέ, ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις αἴροντες  
 ὅλα μέλη καὶ ἀποδάκνοντες, ἐὰν δὲ ἦ τι δυσάποσπα-  
 στον, μαχαιρίῳ μικρῷ παρατέμνοντες, ὁ<sup>14</sup> ἐν ἰδία  
 θήκῃ παράκειται. προσφέρονται δὲ καὶ ἰχθύς οἷ τε  
 παρὰ τοὺς ποταμοὺς οἰκοῦντες καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἐντὸς καὶ  
 τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν, καὶ τούτους δὲ ὀπτοὺς μετὰ ἀλῶν  
 καὶ ὄξους καὶ κυμίνου· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ ποτὸν  
 ἐμβάλλουσιν. ἐλαίῳ δ' οὐ χρῶνται διὰ σπάνιν καὶ διὰ  
 b τὸ ἀσύνηθες ἀηδὲς αὐτοῖς φαίνεται. | ὅταν δὲ πλείονες  
 συνδειπνῶσι, κάθηνται μὲν ἐν κύκλῳ, μέσος δὲ ὁ  
 κράτιστος ὡς ἂν κορυφαῖος χοροῦ, διαφέρων τῶν  
 ἄλλων ἢ κατὰ τὴν πολεμικὴν εὐχέρειαν ἢ κατὰ γένος  
 ἢ κατὰ πλοῦτον. ὁ δ' ὑποδεχόμενος παρ' αὐτόν, ἐφεξῆς  
 δ' ἐκατέρωθε κατ' ἀξίαν ἧς ἔχουσιν ὑπεροχῆς. καὶ οἱ  
 μὲν τοὺς θυρεοὺς ὀπλοφοροῦντες ἐκ τῶν ὀπίσω παρ-  
 εστᾶσιν, οἱ δὲ δορυφόροι κατὰ τὴν ἀντικρὺ καθήμενοι  
 κύκλῳ καθάπερ οἱ δεσπότες συνευωχοῦνται. τὸ δὲ  
 ποτὸν οἱ διακονοῦντες ἐν ἀγγείοις περιφέρουσιν ἐοι-  
 c κόσι μὲν | ἀμβίκοις, ἢ κεραμέοις ἢ ἀργυροῖς. καὶ γὰρ  
 τοὺς πίνακας ἐφ' ὧν τὰς τροφὰς προτίθενται τοιούτους

<sup>14</sup> ὁ τοῖς κολεοῖς ACE



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numerous usages and customs among many peoples that were germane to the philosophy he had adopted, says: The Celts throw hay on the ground and serve their meals on wooden tables barely raised off of it. The food consists of a few loaves of bread and large quantities of meat that is either boiled or roasted on the coals or on spits. They consume the meat in a simple if lion-like way, taking whole joints in both hands and biting it off; if a piece proves difficult to tear away, they cut it off with a small knife that lies beside them in its own sheath. Those who live along the rivers or beside the interior or exterior sea<sup>137</sup> also consume fish, which they eat roasted with salt, vinegar, and cumin. They also add cumin to their wine. They do not use oil, because it is scarce and because their lack of familiarity with it makes the taste seem unpleasant to them. Whenever a group of them has dinner together, they sit in a circle, and whoever is most important sits in the middle, like the leader of a dramatic chorus, whether he is distinguished from the others by his skill in warfare, the family he comes from, or his wealth. The host sits next to him; after that they sit in order on either side according to how prominent they are. Armed men bearing oblong shields stand behind the guests, and their bodyguards sit opposite them in a circle, just like their masters, and eat together. The servants bring the wine around in vessels that resemble spouted cups<sup>138</sup> and are made of either earthenware or silver. The platters on which they serve the food are similar;

<sup>137</sup> The Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, respectively.

<sup>138</sup> See 11.480d, where the word for this vessel appears in a slightly different form.

ἔχουσιν· οἱ δὲ χαλκοῦς, οἱ δὲ κάνεα ξύλινα καὶ  
 πλεκτά. τὸ δὲ πινόμενόν ἐστι παρὰ μὲν τοῖς πλου-  
 τοῦσιν οἶνος ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ τῆς Μασσαλιητῶν χώρας  
 παρακομιζόμενος, ἄκρατος δ' οὗτος· ἐνίστε δὲ ὀλίγον  
 ὕδωρ παραμίγνυται· παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ὑποδεεστέροις ζύ-  
 θος πύρινον μετὰ μέλιτος ἐσκευασμένον, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς  
 πολλοῖς καθ' αὐτό· καλεῖται δὲ κόρμα. ἀπορροφούσι  
 d δὲ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ποτηρίου κατὰ | μικρόν, οὐ πλείον  
 κυάθον· πυκνότερον δὲ τοῦτο ποιούσι. περιφέρει δὲ ὁ  
 παῖς ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ καὶ τὰ λαιά· οὕτως διακονοῦνται. καὶ  
 τοὺς θεοὺς προσκυνοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ στρεφόμενοι.  
 ἔτι ὁ Ποσειδώνιος διηγούμενος καὶ τὸν Λουερνίου τοῦ  
 Βιτύιτος πατρὸς πλούτον τοῦ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καθαιρε-  
 θέντος, φησὶ δημαγωγοῦντα αὐτὸν τοὺς ὄχλους ἐν  
 ἄρματι φέρεσθαι διὰ τῶν πεδίων καὶ σπείρειν χρυ-  
 σίον καὶ ἀργύριον ταῖς ἀκολουθούσαις τῶν Κελτῶν  
 μυριάσι φράγμα τε ποιεῖν δωδεκαστάδιον τετράγω-  
 e νον, ἐν | ᾧ πληροῦν μὲν ληνοὺς πολυτελοῦς πόματος,  
 παρασκευάζειν δὲ τοσοῦτο βρωμάτων πλήθος ὥστε  
 ἐφ' ἡμέρας πλείονας ἐξεῖναι τοῖς βουλομένοις εἰσερ-  
 χομένοις τῶν παρασκευασθέντων ἀπολαύειν ἀδιαλεί-  
 πτως διακονουμένοις. ἀφορίσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ προ-  
 θεσμίαν ποτὲ τῆς θοίνης ἀφυστερήσαντά τινα τῶν  
 βαρβάρων ποιητὴν ἀφικέσθαι καὶ συναντήσαντα  
 μετὰ ᾠδῆς ὑμνεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν, ἑαυτὸν δ'

<sup>139</sup> I.e. *curmi* (attested also at Dsc. 2.110, and in a pair of in-



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but others use bronze platters or baskets made of wood or wickerwork. The rich drink wine imported from Italy or Massaliote territory; it is consumed unmixed, although occasionally they put a little water into it. Poorer people drink wheat-beer with honey added, or in most cases without it; they refer to this as *korma*.<sup>139</sup> They sip it a bit at a time from the same vessel, which does not hold more than a fraction of a cup<sup>140</sup>; but they do this repeatedly. The slave carries the cup around from left to right and right to left; this is how they are served. They also turn from right to left when they prostrate themselves before their gods. Posidonius (*FGrH* 87 F 18 = fr. 67 Edelstein-Kidd, continued) again, in his description of the wealth of Louernius the father of Bituis,<sup>141</sup> who was deposed by the Romans, says that when Louernius was trying to gain influence among the common people, he traveled through the plains in a chariot and scattered gold and silver coins to the countless Celts who followed him. He also built an enclosure 12 stades square, filled vats inside it with expensive wine, and prepared so much food that for many days anyone who wanted to could come in and enjoy it, and the food was served constantly. He eventually called an end to the feast; but a barbarian poet arrived late and, when he met him, sang a hymn about his preeminence and lamented

scriptions); probably cognate with Latin *cremor* ("a thick juice produced by boiling grain"). For beer, see 1.16c n.

<sup>140</sup> Literally "a *kuathos*" ("ladleful"), which in Attica was a standard measure = one-sixth of a *kotulē*.

<sup>141</sup> Louernius was king of the Avernians, and the events referred to here took place at the very end of the 120s BCE. Strabo 4.191 (probably also drawing on Posidonius) gives the name in the form Louerius.

- ἀποθρηνεῖν ὅτι ὑστέρηκε, τὸν δὲ τερφθέντα θυλάκιον  
 f αἰτῆσαι χρυσίου καὶ ῥῖψαι αὐτῷ παρατρέχοντι. | ἀν-  
 ελόμενον δ' ἐκείνον πάλιν ὑμνεῖν λέγοντα διότι τὰ  
 ἔχνη τῆς γῆς ἐφ' ἧς ἄρματηλατεῖ χρυσὸν καὶ εὐερ-  
 γεσίας ἀνθρώποις φέρει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ  
 καὶ εἰκοστῇ ἱστορήσεν. ἐν δὲ τῇ πέμπτῃ περὶ Πάρθων  
 διηγούμενός φησιν· ὁ δὲ καλούμενος φίλος τραπέζης  
 μὲν οὐ κοινωνεῖ, χαμαὶ δ' ὑποκαθήμενος ἐφ' ὑψηλῆς  
 κλίνης κατακειμένῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ παραβληθὲν ὑπ'  
 153 αὐτοῦ κυνιστὶ σιτεῖται καὶ πολλάκις διὰ τὴν τυχού-  
 σαν αἰτίαν ἀποσπασθεὶς τοῦ χαμαιπετοῦς δείπνου ||  
 ῥάβδοις καὶ ἱμάσιν ἀστραγαλωτοῖς μαστιγοῦνται καὶ  
 γενόμενος αἰμόφυρτος τὸν τιμωρησάμενον ὡς εὐερ-  
 γέτην ἐπὶ τὸ ἔδαφος πρηνῆς προσπεσὼν προσκυνεῖ.  
 ἐν δὲ τῇ ἕκτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ περὶ Σελεύκου διηγούμενος  
 τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς εἰς Μηδίαν ἀνελθὼν καὶ πολεμῶν  
 Ἀρσάκει ἡχμαλωτίσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου καὶ ὡς  
 πολὺν χρόνον παρὰ τῷ Ἀρσάκει διέτριψεν ἀγόμενος  
 βασιλικῶς, γράφει καὶ ταῦτα· παρὰ Πάρθοις ἐν τοῖς  
 b δείπνοις ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν τε κλίνην ἐφ' ἧς | μόνος  
 κατέκειτο μετεωροτέραν τῶν ἄλλων καὶ κεχωρισμένην  
 εἶχε καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν μόνῳ καθάπερ ἥρωι πλήρη  
 βαρβαρικῶν θοιναμάτων παρακειμένην. ἱστορῶν δὲ  
 καὶ περὶ Ἡρακλέωνος τοῦ Βεροιαίου, ὃς ὑπὸ τοῦ

<sup>142</sup> To tear the victim's flesh more efficiently.

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that he himself had not come in time. Louernius was pleased and asked for a bag of gold coins, which he threw to the man as he ran alongside his chariot. The poet picked it up and sang another hymn, saying that the tracks in the earth made by Louernius' chariot were bearing gold and benefactions for mankind. Posidonius recorded these events in Book XXIII. But in Book V (*FGrH* 87 F 5 = fr. 57 Edelstein–Kidd), in his discussion of the Parthians, he says: The man referred to as the king's "friend" does not share his food, but sits on the ground below the king, who lies on a high couch, and eats whatever is thrown to him, like a dog. Often for one reason or another he is dragged away from his dinner on the ground and beaten with rods or whips to which knucklebones have been attached.<sup>142</sup> Afterwards he bows down with his face to the earth, covered with blood, and worships the man who punished him as his benefactor. And in Book XVI (*FGrH* 87 F 12 = fr. 64 Edelstein–Kidd), in his description of how King Seleucus went inland into Media and made war on Arsaces, was captured by the barbarian, and spent a long time with Arsaces, and was treated as royalty,<sup>143</sup> he writes the following: At Parthian dinner parties, the king reclined alone on his couch, which was higher than the others and separate from them; a table full of barbarian dishes was set beside him alone, as if he were a hero. And in his account of Hecaleon of Beroea, who after King Antiochus (nicknamed

<sup>143</sup> The Seleucid king in question is Demetrius II, who was captured by the Parthian king Mithridates I (referred to, like Demetrius, by the name of his royal house, the Arsacids) in 139 BCE and remained with him as a captive for ten years.

Γρυποῦ καλουμένου Ἀντιόχου τοῦ βασιλέως προ-  
 αχθεὶς μικροῦ δεῖν τῆς βασιλείας ἐξέβαλε τὸν εὐερ-  
 γέτην, γράφει ἐν τῇ <τετάρτῃ> καὶ τριακοστῇ τῶν  
 Ἱστοριῶν τάδε· ἐποιεῖτό τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὰς κατα-  
 κλίσεις ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ ἀνὰ χιλίους  
 c δειπνίζων. τὸ | δὲ δεῖπνον ἦν ἄρτος μέγας καὶ κρέας,  
 τὸ δὲ ποτὸν κεκραμένος οἶνος οἷος δήποτε ὕδατι ψυ-  
 χρῶ. διηκόνουν δὲ ἄνδρες μαχαιροφόροι καὶ σιωπῇ ἦν  
 εὐτακτος. ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ, ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων, φησὶν,  
 πόλει ὅταν εὐωχῶνται ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἱερῷ,  
 δειπνίζοντος τοῦ κατὰ καιρὸν θριαμβεύοντος, καὶ ἡ  
 παρασκευὴ τῆς εὐωχίας Ἡρακλεωτικὴ ἐστὶ. διοινο-  
 χοεῖται μὲν γὰρ οἰνόμελι, τὰ δὲ βρώματα ἄρτοι μεγά-  
 λοι καὶ καπνιστὰ κρέα ἐφθὰ καὶ τῶν προσφάτως  
 d καθιερευθέντων | ὅπτα δαψιλῇ. παρὰ δὲ Τυρρηνοῖς δις  
 τῆς ἡμέρας τράπεζαι πολυτελεῖς παρασκευάζονται  
 ἀνθιναί τε στρωμναὶ καὶ ἐκπώματα ἀργυρᾷ παντοδα-  
 πά, καὶ δούλων πλῆθος εὐπρεπῶν παρέστηκεν ἐσθή-  
 σεσι πολυτελέσι κεκοσμημένων. Τίμαιος δ' ἐν τῇ  
 πρώτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν καὶ τὰς θεραπαίνας φησὶ παρ'  
 αὐτοῖς μέχρι οὗ ἂν αὐξηθῶσι γυμνὰς διακονεῖσθαι.

Μεγασθένης δ' ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Ἰνδικῶν τοῖς  
 Ἰνδοῖς φησιν ἐν τῷ δεῖπνῳ παρατίθεσθαι ἐκάστῳ  
 e τράπεζαν, | ταύτην δ' εἶναι ὁμοίαν ταῖς ἐγγυθήκαις,  
 καὶ ἐπιτίθεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτῇ τρυβλίον χρυσοῦν, εἰς ὃ  
 ἐμβάλλειν αὐτοὺς πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ὄρυζαν ἐφθὴν ὥς  
 ἂν τις ἐφήσειε χόνδρον, ἔπειτα ὄψα πολλὰ κεχειρουρ-



## BOOK IV

Grypus)<sup>144</sup> put him in a prominent position, nearly expelled his benefactor from his kingship, he writes the following in Book XXXIV (*FGrH* 87 F \*24 = fr. 75 Edelstein-Kidd): When he gave his troops dinner, he used to have them lie down on the ground in the open air in groups of 1000. The dinner consisted of a large loaf of bread and meat; they drank whatever wine was available mixed with cold water. Men wearing daggers acted as their servants, and there was an orderly silence. In Book II (*FGrH* 87 F 1 = fr. 53 Edelstein-Kidd) he says: Whenever they hold a feast in Heracles' temple in Rome and the man celebrating a triumph at the moment serves as host, the preparations for the dinner are themselves Heraclean; for a great deal of honeyed wine is poured, and the food consists of large loaves of bread, stewed smoked meat, and substantial roasted portions of the animals that have just been sacrificed. In Etruria, sumptuous tables are set twice a day, along with couches spread with brightly colored cloths and silver drinking vessels of every type; and a crowd of good-looking slaves dressed in expensive clothing stands nearby. Timaeus in Book I of his *Histories* (*FGrH* 566 F 1a) says that their slave-girls work in the nude until they grow up.<sup>145</sup>

Megasthenes says in Book II of his *History of India* (*FGrH* 715 F 2) that at an Indian dinner a table resembling a cup-stand is set beside each guest. A gold bowl is put on top of it, and first they place some rice that has been boiled in the same way one would boil wheat pudding into it, and then on top of this many other fine dishes prepared

<sup>144</sup> Antiochus VIII (reigned 125/1–96 BCE).

<sup>145</sup> Cf. 12.517d.

γημένα ταῖς Ἰνδικαῖς σκευασίαις. Γερμανοὶ δέ, ὡς  
 ἱστορεῖ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῇ τριακοστῇ, ἄριστον προσ-  
 φέρονται κρέα μεληδὸν ὠπτημένα καὶ ἐπιπίνουσι  
 γάλα καὶ τὸν οἶνον ἄκρατον. Καμπανῶν δέ τινες παρὰ  
 f τὰ συμπόσια μονομαχοῦσι. | Νικόλαος δ' ὁ Δαμασκη-  
 νός, εἷς τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπάτου φιλοσόφων, ἐν τῇ  
 δεκάτῃ πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν τῶν Ἱστοριῶν Ῥωμαίους  
 ἱστορεῖ παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον συμβάλλειν μονομαχίας,  
 γράφων οὕτως· τὰς τῶν μονομάχων θέας οὐ μόνον ἐν  
 πανηγύρεσι καὶ θεάτροις ἐποιοῦντο Ῥωμαῖοι, παρὰ  
 Τυρρηνῶν παραλαβόντες τὸ ἔθος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἐστι-  
 άσεις. ἐκάλουν γοῦν τινες πολλάκις ἐπὶ δεῖπνον τοὺς  
 φίλους ἐπὶ τε ἄλλοις καὶ ὅπως ἂν δύο ἢ τρία ζεύγη  
 ἴδοιεν μονομάχων, ὅτε καὶ κορεσθέντες δεῖπνου καὶ  
 μέθης εἰσεκάλουν τοὺς μονομάχους. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἅμα  
 154 ἐσφάττετο, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐκρότουν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἡδόμενοι. ||  
 ἤδη δέ τις καὶ ταῖς διαθήκαις γέγραφεν γυναῖκας  
 εὐπρεπεστάτας μονομαχῆσαι ἅς ἐκέκτητο, ἕτερος δέ  
 παῖδας ἀνήβους ἐρωμένους ἑαυτοῦ. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ  
 ἠνέσχετο ὁ δῆμος τὴν παρανομίαν ταύτην, ἀλλ' ἄκυ-  
 ρον τὴν διαθήκην ἐποίησεν. Ἐρατοσθένης δ' ἐν πρῶ-  
 τῳ Ὀλυμπιονικῶν τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς φησι πρὸς αὐλὸν  
 πυκτεύειν.

Ποσειδώνιος δ' ἐν τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν,  
 Κελτοί, φησίν, ἐνίοτε παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον μονομαχοῦσιν.  
 b ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀγερθέντες σκιαμαχοῦσι | καὶ  
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀκροχειρίζονται, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ μέχρι  
 τραύματος προΐασιν καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐρεθισθέντες, εἰάν

## BOOK IV

according to Indian recipes. The Germans, according to Posidonius in Book XXX (*FGrH* 87 F 2 = fr. 73 Edelstein-Kidd), eat whole joints of roasted meat for lunch, and drink milk and unmixed wine along with it. Some Campanians fight duels at their drinking parties. Nicolaus of Damascus, one of the Peripatetic philosophers, records in Book CX of his *Histories* (*FGrH* 90 F 78) that the Romans stage gladiator fights at dinner, writing as follows: The Romans used to put on gladiatorial displays not just at festivals and in their theaters—they took the custom over from the Etruscans—but also at their feasts. Some of them, at any rate, would frequently invite their friends to dinner with the promise that, among other things, they were going to see two or three pairs of gladiators; after they had enough to eat and drink, they would call the gladiators in. While one of the men was being butchered, they were applauding in delight at what was going on. There was once a man who actually put it in his will that some beautiful women he had purchased were to fight a duel, while another specified that pre-adolescent boys he had used for sex were to do so. But the people did not put up with this depravity and declared the will invalid. Eratosthenes says in Book I of *Olympic Victors* (p. 252 Bernhardt) that the Etruscans box to pipe-music.

Posidonius says in Book XXIII of his *Histories* (*FGrH* 87 F 16 = fr. 68 Edelstein-Kidd): The Celts sometimes fight duels at dinner. For they have their weapons with them when they assemble, and they engage in imaginary battles or pretend to fight one another from a distance. But sometimes they go so far as to wound one another, and this



- μὴ ἐπισχῶσιν οἱ παρόντες, καὶ ἕως ἀναιρέσεως ἔρχονται. τὸ δὲ παλαιόν, φησὶν, ὅτι παρατεθέντων κωλήνων τὸ μηρίον ὁ κράτιστος ἐλάμβανεν· εἰ δέ τις ἕτερος ἀντιποιήσαιο, συνίσταντο μονομαχῆσόντες μέχρι θανάτου. ἄλλοι δ' ἐν θεάτρῳ λαβόντες ἀργύριον ἢ χρυσίον, οἱ δὲ οἴνου κεραμίων ἀριθμὸν τινα, καὶ
- c πιστωσάμενοι τὴν δόσιν καὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις | φίλοις διαδωρησάμενοι ὑπτιοὶ ἐκταθέντες ἐπὶ θυρεῶν κεῖνται, καὶ παραστάς τις ξίφει τὸν λαιμὸν ἀποκόπτει. Εὐφορίων δ' ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς ἐν Ἱστορικοῖς Ὑπομνήμασιν οὕτω γράφει· παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προτίθεσθαι πέντε μνᾶς τοῖς ὑπομένειν βουλομένοις τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκοπῆναι πελέκει, ὥστε τοὺς κληρονόμους κομίσασθαι τὸ ἄθλον· καὶ πολλάκις ἀπογραφομένους πλείους δικαιολογεῖσθαι καθ' ὃ δικαιότατός ἐστιν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἀποτυμπανισθῆναι.
- d Ἑρμιππος | δ' ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ Νομοθετῶν τῶν μονομαχοῦντων εὐρετὰς ἀποφαίνει Μαντινεῖς Δημόνακτος ἐνὸς τῶν πολιτῶν συμβουλεύσαντος, καὶ ζηλωτὰς τούτων γενέσθαι Κυρηναίους. Ἐφορος δ' ἐν ἕκτῃ Ἱστοριῶν, ἥσκουν, φησί, τὰ πολεμικὰ οἱ Μαντινεῖς καὶ Ἀρκάδες, τὴν τε στολὴν τὴν πολεμικὴν καὶ τὴν ὅπλισιν τὴν ἀρχαίαν ὡς εὐρόντων ἐκείνων ἔτι καὶ νῦν Μαντινικὴν ἀποκαλοῦσι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ὀπλομαχίας μαθήσεις ἐν Μαντινείᾳ πρῶτον εὐρέθησαν
- e Δημέου | τὸ τέχνημα καταδείξαντος. ὅτι δὲ ἀρχαῖον ἦν τὸ περὶ τοὺς μονομάχους καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης εἶρηκεν ἐν Φοινίσσαις οὕτως·

## BOOK IV

makes them angry; if the bystanders do not restrain them, they do not stop until someone is dead. In the old days, he says, whole joints of meat were served, and whoever was most powerful got the thigh; if someone else claimed it, they fought a duel to the death. Others collected silver or gold coins in the theater, or perhaps a certain number of jars of wine; after they extracted guarantees that their will would be carried out, and divided up what they had got among their relatives, they would lie stretched out on their back on top of their shield, and someone would stand beside them and slit their throat with his sword. Euphorion of Chalcis in his *Historical Notes* (fr. 4, *FHG* iii.72 = fr. 173 van Groningen) writes as follows: In Rome five minas are offered to anyone willing to allow his head to be cut off with an ax, on the condition that his heirs get the prize; often too many people put their names on the list and they argue about which of them is most deserving of execution.

Hermippus declares in Book I of *On Lawgivers* (fr. 83 Wehrli) that gladiators were invented by the Mantineans on the advice of Demonax, who was one of the citizens, and that the Cyreneans imitated them. Ephorus says in Book VI of the *Histories* (*FGrH* 70 F 54): The Mantineans and Arcadians were devoted to the arts of war, and even to-day people refer to war-gear and the ancient style of armor as "Mantinean," on the ground that they invented them. In addition, lessons in hoplite fighting were first invented in Mantinea, and the art was taught by Demeas. That fighting involving individual combatants (*monomachoi*) was an ancient custom is asserted by Aristophanes in *Phoenician Women* (fr. 570), as follows:

ἐς Οἰδίπουν δὲ παῖδε, διπτύχῳ κόρῳ,  
 Ἄρης κατέσκηψ', ἔς τε μονομάχου πάλης  
 ἀγῶνα νῦν ἐστᾶσιν.

ἔοικεν δὲ πεποιῆσθαι τὸ ὄνομα οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ μάχη, ἀλλ'  
 ἐκ ῥήματος τοῦ μάχεσθαι μᾶλλον συγκείσθαι. ὁπότε  
 γὰρ τὸ μάχη συντιθέμενον τὸ τέλος εἰς -ος τρέπει, ὡς  
 ἐν τῷ σύμμαχος, πρωτόμαχος, ἐπίμαχος, ἀντίμαχος,

f < . . . > φιλόμαχον | γένος ἐκ Περσέος

παρὰ Πινδάρῳ, τηνικαῦτα προπαροξύνεται· ὁπότε δὲ  
 παροξύνεται, τὸ μάχεσθαι ῥήμα περιέχει, ὡς ἐν τῷ  
 πυγμάχος, ναυμάχος,

< . . . > αὐτόν σε πυλαμάχε πρῶτον

παρὰ Στησιχόρῳ, ὅπλομάχος, τειχομάχος, πυργο-  
 μάχος. ὁ δὲ κωμωδιοποιὸς Ποσειδίππος ἐν Πορνο-  
 βοσκῷ φησιν·

155 ὁ μὴ πεπλευκὸς οὐδὲν ἑώρακεν κακόν· ||  
 τῶν μονομαχούντων ἐσμέν ἀθλιώτεροι.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἔνδοξοι καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἐμονομάχουν καὶ  
 ἐκ προκλήσεως τοῦτ' ἐποίουν ἐν ἄλλοις εἰρήκαμεν.  
 Δίλλος δ' ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν

<sup>146</sup> Perhaps in the portions of Books 1–3 that survive only in the Epitome.

<sup>147</sup> E.g. in *Iliad* 3, where Paris and Menelaus fight for Helen.

## BOOK IV

Ares swooped down upon the twin children of  
Oedipus,  
the two-fold youths; and they stand ready now  
for a contest of single-combat (*monomáchou*) battle.

The word does not appear to have been formed from *machē* ("battle"), but to be instead a compound from *machesthai* ("to fight"). For whenever a compound of *machē* ends in -os, as for example *súmmachos* ("ally"), *prōtómachos* ("champion"), *epímachos* ("assailable"), *antímachos* ("adversarial"), or

a war-loving (*philómachos*) race descended from  
Perseus

in Pindar (fr. 164), it has an acute accent on the second-to-last syllable. But when it has an acute on the next-to-the-last syllable, it contains the word *machesthai*, as for example in *pugmáchos* ("fist-fighter, boxer"), *naumáchos* ("fighting at sea"),

you yourself first, O fighter in the gate (*pulaimáchos*)

in Stesichorus (*PMG* 242), *hoplomáchos* ("fighting in armor"), *teichomáchos* ("fighting from a wall") and *purgomáchos* ("fighting from a tower"). The comic poet Posidippus says in *The Pimp* (fr. 23):

Anyone who hasn't sailed has never seen trouble;  
we're more wretched than gladiators  
(*monomachouíntōn*).

We have explained elsewhere<sup>146</sup> that prominent individuals and commanders used to fight duels and did so in response to a challenge.<sup>147</sup> Diyllos of Athens says in Book IX

φησιν ὡς Κάσανδρος ἐκ Βοιωτίας ἐπανιὼν καὶ θάψας τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν βασίλισσαν ἐν Αἰγαίαις καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν τὴν Κύνναν τὴν Εὐρυδίκης μητέρα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τιμήσας οἷς προσήκει καὶ μονομαχίας ἀγῶνα ἔθηκεν, εἰς ὃν κατέβησαν τέσσαρες τῶν στρατιωτῶν.

- b Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Σκῆψιος ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ | τοῦ Τρωικοῦ Διακόσμου, παρὰ Ἀντιόχῳ, φησί, τῷ βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ προσαγορευθέντι ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ πρὸς ὅπλα ὠρχοῦντο οὐ μόνον οἱ βασιλέως φίλοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεύς. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ εἰς Ἡγησι-  
 ἀνακτα τὸν Ἀλεξανδρέα ἀπὸ Τρωάδος τὸν τὰς Ἱστο-  
 ρίας γράψαντα ἢ τῆς ὀρχήσεως τάξις ἐγένετο, ἀνα-  
 στας εἶπε· “πότερον, ὦ βασιλεῦ, κακῶς ὀρχούμενόν με  
 θεάσασθαι βούλει ἢ καλῶς ἀπαγγέλλοντός μου ἴδια  
 ποιήματα θέλεις ἀκροάσασθαι;” κελευσθεὶς οὖν λέγειν  
 c οὕτως ἦσε τὸν βασιλέα ὥστ' | ἐράνου τε ἀξιωθῆναι  
 καὶ τῶν φίλων εἰς γενέσθαι. Δοῦρις δ' ὁ Σάμιος ἐν τῇ  
 τῶν Ἱστοριῶν ἐβδόμῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ Πολυσπέρχοντά  
 φησιν, εἰ μεθυσθείη, καίτοι πρεσβύτερον ὄντα ὀρχεῖ-  
 σθαι, οὐδενὸς Μακεδόνων ὄντα δεύτερον οὔτε κατὰ  
 τὴν στρατηγίαν οὔτε κατὰ τὴν ἀξίωσιν, καὶ ἐνδυνό-

<sup>148</sup> Philip III Arrhidaeus (Berve i. #781) and Eurydice (or Adea; Berve i #23), members of the Macedonian royal family who opposed Polyperchon (see 4.155c, where he is referred to as Polysperchon, with n.) and Olympias (Alexander the Great's mother), and allied themselves with Cassander. Philip was murdered on Olympias' orders in 317, and Eurydice was forced to

## BOOK IV

of his *Histories* (FGrH 73 F 1) that when Cassander returned from Boeotia after burying the king and queen in Aegae,<sup>148</sup> and Eurydice's mother Cynna along with them, he showed them the other appropriate honors and also held a gladiatorial contest, which four of his soldiers entered.

Demetrius of Scepsis says in Book XV of his *Trojan Catalogue* (fr. 7 Gaede): When King Antiochus the Great<sup>149</sup> at a dinner party ordered them to do so, it was not just the king's friends who began to dance bearing arms, but the king himself. When it was the turn of Hegesianax of Alexandria Troas, the author of the *Histories* (FGrH 45 T 3), to dance, he stood up and said: "King, do you want to watch me dance poorly, or would you like to listen to me do a good job of reciting some of my own works?" He was ordered to speak and pleased the king so much that he was judged worthy of a grant of money and joined Antiochus' circle. Duris of Samos says in Book XVII of his *Histories* (FGrH 76 F 12) that whenever Polysperchon<sup>150</sup> got drunk, he would start dancing, even though he was quite an old man and second to none of the Macedonians in his generalship or the esteem in which he was held; he used to

commit suicide; after Cassander (Berve i #414) emerged triumphant over Olympias and Polyperchon in 316, he had Philip and Eurydice buried in the Macedonian royal tombs in Aegae in an attempt to rehabilitate their image. Cynna/Cynane (Alexander's half-sister, Berve i #456; referred to below) was murdered by Alcetas in 322 on Perdiccas' orders.

<sup>149</sup> Antiochus III (reigned 222–187 BCE).

<sup>150</sup> One of Alexander the Great's commanders and successors (Berve i #654); the correct form of his name appears to be Polyperchon.

- μενον αὐτὸν κροκωτὸν καὶ ὑποδούμενον Σικυώνια δια-  
 τελεῖν ὀρχούμενον. Ἀγαθαρχίδης δ' ὁ Κνίδιος ἐν  
 ὀγδόῃ Ἀσιατικῶν ἱστορεῖ ὡς οἱ ἐστιῶντες Ἀλέξαν-  
 δρον τὸν Φιλίππου τῶν φίλων τὸ μέλλον παρατεθή-  
 d σεσθαι τῶν τραγημάτων περιεχρύσουν· | ὅτε δὲ θέλοι-  
 εν ἀναλίσκειν, περιελόντες τὸν χρυσὸν ἅμα τοῖς  
 ἄλλοις ἐξέβαλλον, ἵνα τῆς μὲν πολυτελείας οἱ φίλοι  
 θεαταὶ γίνωνται, οἱ δ' οἰκέται κύριοι. ἐπιλεησμένοι δ'  
 ἦσαν οὗτοι, ὡς καὶ Δοῦρις ἱστορεῖ, ὅτι καὶ Φίλιππος  
 ὁ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου πατὴρ ποτήριον χρυσοῦν ὀλκὴν  
 ἄγον πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς κεκτημένος τοῦτο ἐλάμβαν-  
 ε νε κοιμώμενος αἰεὶ καὶ πρὸς κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ κατετίθετο.  
 Σέλευκος δὲ Θρακῶν φησὶ τινὰς ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις  
 e ἀγχόνην παίζειν βρόχον | ἀρτήσαντας ἔκ τινος  
 ὕψους<sup>15</sup>, πρὸς ὃν κατὰ κάθετον ὑποτίθεσθαι λίθον  
 εὐπερίτρεπτον τοῖς ἐπιβαίνουσι. διαλαγχάνειν οὖν αὐ-  
 τοὺς καὶ τὸν λαχόντα ἔχοντα δρεπάνιον ἐπιβαίνειν τῷ  
 λίθῳ καὶ τὸν τράχηλον εἰς τὸν βρόχον ἐντιθέναι  
 παρερχόμενον δὲ ἄλλον ἐγείρειν τὸν λίθον· καὶ ὁ  
 κρεμάμενος ὑποτρέχοντος τοῦ λίθου, εἰ μὴ ταχὺ  
 φθάσας ἀποτέμῃ τῷ δρεπάνῳ, τέθνηκε, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι  
 γελῶσι παιδιὰν ἔχοντες τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον.  
 f Ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν εἶχον, ἄνδρες φίλοι | καὶ συμπόται

<sup>15</sup> ὕψους στρογγύλον ACE



## BOOK IV

put on a saffron-colored robe and Sicyonian shoes<sup>151</sup> and dance and dance. Agatharchides of Cnidus reports in Book VIII of his *History of Asia* (FGrH 86 F 2) that when the friends of Alexander son of Philip<sup>152</sup> had a feast for him, they would gild whatever was going to be served as snacks.<sup>153</sup> When they wanted to eat something, they would remove the gold and throw it away with everything else; the result was that their friends got to admire the expense to which they went, but the profit went to the slaves. These people had forgotten something else, which Duris (FGrH 76 F 37b)<sup>154</sup> records, which is that Alexander's father Philip owned a gold drinking cup that weighed 50 drachmas, which he always took and set beside his head when he slept. Seleucus (FGrH 341 F \*4 = fr. 80 Müller) claims that there are Thracians who play a symposium game that involves hanging, in which they attach a rope to something high and place a stone that moves easily when one stands on it directly beneath it. Then they draw lots; the man whose lot is drawn gets up on the stone, holding a small sickle, and puts his neck in the noose. Someone else comes along and makes the stone move. The stone slips out from under him, and if the man who is hanging does not cut the rope quickly enough with his sickle, he is dead, and the others laugh and regard his death as a great joke.

This is the information I can offer you, my friends and far and away the foremost drinking companions of the

<sup>151</sup> More often worn by women; cf. Macho 158 (quoted at 8.349e); Herod. 7.57 with Headlam's n. <sup>152</sup> Alexander the

Great. <sup>153</sup> Here the reference is clearly to nuts or beans,  
whose husks were thrown onto the floor for slaves to clean up.

<sup>154</sup> Cf. 6.231b–c.

τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολὺν πρῶτοι, περὶ ἀρχαίων συμποσίων ἐπιστάμενος. ἀκριβῶς δ' ὁ σοφὸς Πλάτων ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Νόμων περὶ συμποσίων διηγείται λέγων οὕτως· καὶ οὗτ' ἂν ἐπ' ἀγρῶν ἴδοις οὗτ' ἐν ἄστεσιν ὅσων Σπαρτιάταις μέλει συμπόσια οὐδ' ὅποσα τούτοις ξυν-  
 156 ἐπόμενα πάσας ἡδονὰς κινεῖ κατὰ δύναμιν. || οὐδ' ἔστιν ὅστις ἂν ἀπαντῶν κωμάζοντί τινι μετὰ μέθης οὐκ ἂν τὴν μεγίστην δίκην εὐθὺς ἐπιθείη καὶ οὐδ' ἂν Διονύσια πρόφασιν ἔχοντ' αὐτὸν ῥύσαιτο, ὥσπερ ἐν ἀμάξαις εἶδον παρ' ὑμῖν ἐγώ, καὶ ἐν Τάραντι δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀποίκους πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ἐθεασάμην περὶ τὰ Διονύσια μεθύουσαν. ἐν Λακεδαίμονι οὐκ ἔστ' οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον.

Καὶ ὁ Κύνουλκος, ἀλλ' ὡς ὄφελον, ἔφη, τὴν Θράκιον ταύτην παίξας παιδιὰν διεφθάρης· ἀνέτεινες γὰρ  
 b ἡμᾶς ὥσπερ νηστείαν ἄγοντας καὶ περιμένοντας | τὸ ἀνατέλλον ἄστρον, οὗ φασι μὴ φανέντος οἱ τὴν χρηστήν ταύτην φιλοσοφίαν εὐρόντες νόμιμον εἶναι μηδενὸς γεύεσθαι. ἐγὼ δ' ὁ τάλας κατὰ τὸν κωμωδιοποιὸν Δίφιλον·

κεστρεὺς ἂν εἶην ἔνεκα νηστείας ἄκρας.

155 Literally "in the carts"; cf. Alex. fr. 9.5 (quoted at 10.431e).

156 See 4.166e n.

## BOOK IV

Greeks, from my knowledge of ancient symposia. The wise Plato offers some accurate remarks about drinking parties in Book I of the *Laws* (637a–b), saying the following: And neither in the country nor in the cities the Spartiates control would you see drinking parties or the activities that accompany them and encourage pleasures of all sorts as much as they can. There's not one man of them who wouldn't immediately impose the harshest penalty possible on anyone he caught wandering drunk through the streets, and a festival of Dionysus wouldn't save him, if he offered it as an excuse, as I've seen happen in your country in the wine-market<sup>155</sup>; among our own colonists in Tarentum, I've seen the whole city drunk during Dionysia-time.<sup>156</sup> In Sparta there's nothing like this.

Cynulcus said: How I wish you had played this Thracian game and died! You have made us as tense as people who are fasting and waiting for the rising star, which has to appear, they say, before those who invented this fine philosophy<sup>157</sup> are allowed to taste any food. Miserable me, as the comic poet Diphilus (fr. 53.2)<sup>158</sup> puts it—

I might as well be a mullet as a result of this extended fasting.<sup>159</sup>

<sup>157</sup> The sect in question is unidentified, although earlier commentators took the reference to be to the Jews.

<sup>158</sup> Cf. 7.307f–8a, where the fragment is quoted in a more complete form and assigned to *Lemnian Women*.

<sup>159</sup> The mullet was also known as the “faster” (*nēsteus*), supposedly because no food was ever found in its belly; cf. the texts collected at 7.307c–8b.

ἐπελάθεσθε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς τῶν τοῦ ποιητοῦ καλῶν, ὅς  
ἔφη·

οὐ μὲν γάρ τι χέρειον ἐν ὥρῃ δεῖπνον ἐλέσθαι.

καὶ ὁ καλὸς δ' Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Κωκάλῳ ἔφη·

- c ἄλλ' ἐστίν, ὦ πάτερ, κομιδῇ μεσημβρία, |  
ἥνίκα γε τοὺς νεωτέρους δειπνεῖν χρεών.

ἐμοί τε πολλῷ ἦν ἄμεινον κατὰ τὸ Παρμενίσκου τῶν  
Κυνικῶν Συμπόσιον δειπνεῖν ἢ ἐνθάδε πάντα ὥσπερ  
τοὺς πυρέσσοντας περιφερόμενα ὁρᾶν. γελασάντων  
δὲ ἡμῶν ἔφη τις· ἄλλ' ὦ λῶστε ἀνδρῶν, μὴ φθονήσης  
ἡμῖν τὸ Παρμενίσκειον ἐκείνο διελθεῖν συμπόσιον.  
καὶ ὅς μετέωρον αὐτὸν παραναστήσας ἔφη· ὅμνυμι δ'  
ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες, κατὰ τὸν ἡδὺν Ἀντιφάνη, ὅς ἐν τῇ  
Παρεκδιδομένῃ ἔφη·

- d ὅμνυμι δ' ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες, αὐτὸν τὸν θεόν,  
ἐξ οὗ τὸ μεθύειν πᾶσιν ἡμῖν γίγνεται, |  
ἢ μὴν ἐλέσθαι τοῦτον ἂν ζῆν τὸν βίον  
ἢ τὴν Σελεύκου τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπεροχὴν.  
ρόφειν φακῆν ἐσθ' ἡδὺ μὴ δεδοικότα,  
μαλακῶς καθεύδειν ἄθλιον δεδοικότα.

ἀλλ' ὅ γε Παρμενίσκος οὕτως ὑπήρξατο· Παρμε-  
νίσκος Μόλπιδι χαίρειν. πλεονάζων ἐν ταῖς προσ-  
φωνήσεσι πρὸς σὲ περὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν κλήσεων ἀγω-  
νιῷ μή ποτε εἰς πληθώραν ἐμπεσὼν μεμψιμοιρήσης.  
διὸ καὶ μεταδοῦναί σοι βούλομαι τοῦ παρὰ Κέβητι τῷ

## BOOK IV

You forgot the fine words of the poet, who said (*Od.* 17.176):

For there's no disadvantage in having dinner on time.

The noble Aristophanes as well says in *Cocalus* (fr. 360):

But, aged sir, it's exactly noon,  
which is when younger men need to have dinner.

In my opinion, it would be much better to dine in the way described in Parmeniscus' *Cynics' Drinking Party* than to see all the food going around in a circle here, like a man suffering from a fever. We laughed, and someone said: My very good sir, please do not begrudge us a full account of Parmeniscus' drinking party! And he raised himself up high and said: I swear to you, gentlemen, to quote the delightful Antiphanes, who said in *The Girl Who Was Secretly Given in Marriage* (fr. 185):

I swear to you, gentlemen, by the god himself,  
who's making it possible for us all to get drunk,  
that I would certainly prefer to live like this  
than to be as exalted as King Seleucus.  
Gulping down lentil soup with no fear is quite  
pleasant,  
whereas sleeping in fear in a soft bed is miserable.

But Parmeniscus began as follows: Parmeniscus to Molpis (*FGrH* 590 T 1): Greetings. Since I frequently address you regarding the distinguished invitations I receive, I feel some anxiety lest you criticize me because you have grown full of such matters. I therefore wish to share with you the dinner I had at the house of Cebes of Cyzicus. So

e Κυζικηνῶ δείπνου· προπιῶν δ' | ὑσώπου τὴν ὥραν  
ἐπάναγε ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίασιν. Διονυσίων γὰρ ὄντων Ἀθή-  
νησι παρελήφθην πρὸς αὐτόν. κατέλαβον δὲ κυνικοὺς  
μὲν ἀνακειμένους ἕξ, ἓνα δὲ κύνουλκον Καρνείον τὸν  
Μεγαρικόν. τοῦ δείπνου δὲ χρονίζοντος λόγος ἐγένετο  
ποῖον τῶν ὑδάτων ἡδιστόν ἐστιν. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐγκω-  
μιαζόντων τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Λέρνης, ἄλλων δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς  
Πειρήνης, ὁ Καρνείος κατὰ Φιλόξενον εἶπε τὸ “κατὰ  
χειρῶν”. καὶ τῆς τραπέζης παρατεθείσης ἐδειπνοῦμεν

καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐξηντλοῦμεν φακὴν, ἣ δ' ἐπεισέρρει.

f εἶτα | πάλιν φακοὶ προσηνέχθησαν ὅξει βεβρεγμένοι,  
καὶ ὁ Διτρέφης δραξάμενος ἔφη·

Ζεῦ, μὴ λάθοι σε τῶνδ' ὅς αἵτιος φακῶν.

καὶ ἄλλος ἐξῆς ἀνεβόησε·

φακός σε δαίμων καὶ φακὴ τύχη λάβοι.

(ἐμοὶ δὲ κατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν Δίφιλον, φησὶν δ' οὗτος ἐν  
Πελιάσι·

<sup>160</sup> A strong-smelling medicinal herb, presumably intended to settle Molpis' over-full stomach.

<sup>161</sup> I.e. a Cynic master; cf. 1.1d with n.

<sup>162</sup> At a normal party the topic would have been wine.

<sup>163</sup> Peirene was a famous fountain in Corinth (cf. 2.43b), but Lerna was a marsh in the Argive plain, and the reference to it as a source of fine drinking water is most likely a joke.

<sup>164</sup> Sc. to wash them before dinner is served.

<sup>165</sup> An (unmetrical) parody of adesp. tr. fr. 89.



## BOOK IV

drink some hyssop<sup>160</sup> and direct your attention to the feast. It was Dionysia-time in Athens when I was invited to visit him. I found six Cynics lying there and one hound-master<sup>161</sup>, Carneius of Megara. Dinner was delayed, and a conversation began about what sort of water tastes best.<sup>162</sup> Some of them praised the water from Lerna, others that from Peirene;<sup>163</sup> but Carneius quoted Philoxenus (*PMG* 836(b).40, quoted at 4.147e) and spoke for the water “poured over one’s hands.”<sup>164</sup> The table was set beside us and we began eating;

The moment we drained one bowl of lentil soup,  
another flowed in.<sup>165</sup>

Then lentils were served again, this time soaked in vinegar; and Diitrephes took a handful and said:

Zeus, may the man responsible for this pea-vishness  
not evade your notice!<sup>166</sup>

And immediately another guest shouted out:

Might a pea-vish fate and a pea-vish destiny take  
you!<sup>167</sup>

(My reaction<sup>168</sup> is that of the comic poet Diphilus, who says in *The Daughters of Pelias* (fr. 64):

<sup>166</sup> A parody of E. *Med.* 332, with *phakoi* (“lentils,” here translated “pea” for the sake of the pun, as again below) substituted for the original *kakoi* (“evils”). <sup>167</sup> A parody of adesp. tr. fr. 92, with forms of *kakos* (“evil”) twice replaced by an invented adjective formed from *phakos* (“lentil”).

<sup>168</sup> Like the quotation from Theopompus below, an interjection by Cynulcus rather than part of Parmeniscus’ letter.



(A.) τὸ δειπνάριον ἀνθηρὸν ἦν, γλαφυρὸν  
σφόδρα·

157 φακῆς κατ' ἄνδρα τρύβλιον μεστὸν μέγα. ||  
(B.) πρῶτιστον οὐκ ἀνθηρόν. (A.) ἐπὶ ταύτῃ  
φέρων

εἰς τὸ μέσον ἐπεχόρευσε σαπέρδης μέγας  
ὑπό τι δυσώδης οὗτος † ηρος ἀνθίαν,  
ὃν πολλὰ ταῖς κίχλαις ἤδη λέγει. †)

γέλωτος οὖν ἐπιρραγέντος παρῆν ἡ θεατροτορύνῃ  
Μέλισσα καὶ ἡ κυνάμνια Νίκιον· αὗται δ' ἦσαν τῶν  
οὐκ ἀσῆμων ἐταιρίδων. ἀποβλέψασαι οὖν αὗται εἰς τὰ  
παρακείμενα καὶ θαυμάσασαι ἐγέλων. καὶ ἡ Νίκιον  
ἔφη·” οὐδεὶς ὑμῶν, ἄνδρες γενειοσυλλεκτάδαι, ἰχθὺν  
b ἐσθίει; ἢ καθάπερ | ὁ πρόγονος ὑμῶν Μελέαγρος ὁ  
Γαδαρεὺς ἐν ταῖς Χάρισιν ἐπιγραφομέναις ἔφη τὸν  
”Ομηρον Σύρον ὄντα τὸ γένος κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἰχθύων  
ἀπεχομένους ποιῆσαι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς δαψιλείας πολλῆς  
οὔσης κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον; ἢ μόνον ἀνέγνωτε  
συγγραμμάτων αὐτοῦ τὸ περιέχον λεκίθου καὶ φακῆς  
σύγκρισιν; ὁρῶ γὰρ πολλὴν παρ' ὑμῖν τῆς φακῆς τὴν  
σκευὴν· εἰς ἣν ἀποβλέπουσα συμβουλεύσαιμ' ἂν ὑμῖν  
c κατὰ τὸν Σωκρατικὸν Ἀντισθένην ἐξάγειν ἑαυτοὺς |  
τοῦ βίου τοιαῦτα σιτουμένους.” πρὸς ἣν ὁ Καρνείος  
ἔφη· “Εὐξίθεος ὁ Πυθαγορικός, ὦ Νίκιον, ὥς φησι

169 An unidentified fish; perhaps some sort of mackerel.

170 Another unidentified fish.

171 Or “theater-stirrer”;  
obscure, but doubtless not a compliment.

## BOOK IV

(A.) The little dinner was splendid, very elegant:  
a big bowl full of lentil soup for each man.

(B.) For starters, that's not very splendid. (A.) After  
this  
a big *saperdē*<sup>169</sup> abruptly danced into our midst;  
it smelled rather bad † [corrupt] an *anthias*<sup>170</sup>  
about which it makes many remarks now to the  
wrasses. † )

There was accordingly a burst of laughter, after which Melissa the theater-ladle<sup>171</sup> and Nicion the dog-fly<sup>172</sup>—they were well-known courtesans—appeared. They looked at the food and began to laugh in astonishment. Nicion said: “Don’t any of you, beard-gathering sirs, eat fish? Or is it as your ancestor Meleager of Gadara<sup>173</sup> said about Homer in his work entitled *The Graces* (fr. II Riese), that because he was a Syrian by birth he followed the customs of his country<sup>174</sup> and represented the Achaeans as avoiding fish, even though there was an abundant supply of them in the Hellespont? Or is the only treatise by him you’ve read the one that includes a comparison of bean soup and lentil soup? Because I see that a lot of lentil soup has been prepared for you; and when I see it, my advice to you would be, to quote Socrates’ associate Antisthenes (SSR V.A F 133), to export yourselves from life, if this is how you eat.” Carneius said to her: “According to Clearchus the Peripatetic in Book II of the *Lives* (fr. 38 Wehrli), Nicion, Euxitheus the Pythagorean used to say that all men’s souls

<sup>172</sup> See 3.126a n.

<sup>173</sup> A Cynic poet and philosopher (fl. 100 BCE).

<sup>174</sup> Cf. 8.346c–d.

Κλέαρχος ὁ περιπατητικὸς ἐν δευτέρῳ Βίων, ἔλεγεν ἐνδεδέσθαι τῷ σώματι καὶ τῷ δεύρῳ βίῳ τὰς ἀπάντων ψυχὰς τιμωρίας χάριν, καὶ διείπασθαι τὸν θεὸν ὡς εἰ μὴ μενοῦσιν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἕως ἂν ἐκὼν αὐτοὺς λύσῃ, πλείοσι καὶ μείζοσι ἐμπεσοῦνται τότε λύμαις. διὸ πάντας εὐλαβουμένους τὴν τῶν κυρίων ἀνάτασιν φο-  
 d βεῖσθαι τοῦ ζῆν ἐκόντας ἐκβῆναι μόνον τε τὸν ἐν | τῷ γήρα θάνατον ἀσπασίως προσίεσθαι, πεπεισμένους τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τῆς ψυχῆς μετὰ τῆς τῶν κυρίων γίγνεσθαι γνώμης. τούτοις τοῖς δόγμασιν ἡμεῖς πειθόμεθα.”  
 “ὕμιν δὲ φθόνος οὐδὲ εἷς ἐλέσθαι ἐν τι τῶν τριῶν ἔχειν κακῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἐπίστασθε, ὦ ταλαίπωροι, ὅτι αἱ βαρεῖαι αὐταὶ τροφαὶ φράττουσι τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν καὶ οὐκ ἑῶσι τὴν φρόνησιν ἐν αὐτῇ εἶναι.”

Θεόπομπος οὖν ἐν πέμπτῃ Φιλιππικῶν φησι· τὸ γὰρ ἐσθίειν πολλὰ καὶ κρεοφαγεῖν τοὺς μὲν λογι-  
 e σμοὺς | ἐξαιρεῖ καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ποιεῖται βραδυτέρας, ὀργῆς δὲ καὶ σκληρότητος καὶ πολλῆς σκαιότητος ἐμπίπλησι. καὶ ὁ θαυμάσιος δὲ Ξενοφῶν φησιν ὡς ἡδὺ μὲν μᾶζαν καὶ κάρδαμα φαγεῖν πεινῶντι, ἡδὺ δὲ ὕδωρ ἄρυσάμενον ἐκ ποταμοῦ διψῶντα πιεῖν. Σωκράτης δὲ καὶ πολλάκις κατελαμβάνετο διαπεριπατῶν ἐσπέρας βαθείας πρὸ τῆς οἰκίας καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πυνθα-  
 νομένους “τί τηνικάδε;” ἔλεγεν ὄψον συνάγειν πρὸς τὸ  
 f δείπνον. |

<sup>175</sup> The three most common means of suicide, the noose, the sword, and a leap from a high place?

## BOOK IV

are imprisoned in their bodies and their life here in order to punish them, and that the god has decided that if they do not abide by his terms until he chooses to release them, they will be afflicted with more indignities and more serious ones. We should therefore all be on guard against the inflexibility of our masters and be afraid to leave life voluntarily; the only death we should happily accept is the one that comes with old age, when we can be confident that our soul is released with the consent of our masters. These are the doctrines we follow.” “But no one begrudges *you* picking one of the three evils<sup>175</sup> for your own. You don’t realize, you wretches, that these heavy foods impede the authoritative part of the soul<sup>176</sup> and prevent your good sense from being fully conscious.”

(Theopompus<sup>177</sup> therefore says in Book V of the *History of Philip* (FGrH 115 F 57): Eating large amounts of food and consuming meat ruins our powers of reasoning, makes the soul more sluggish, and fills it with anger, harshness, and considerable clumsiness. The marvelous Xenophon (cf. *Cyr.* 1.2.11) as well says that a hungry man enjoys eating a barley-cake and cress, and a thirsty man is happy to get water from a river to drink. Socrates (SSR I.C.159) was often caught walking around in front of his house late at night; when people asked him “Why are you doing this now?”, he said he was collecting some *opson* for his dinner.<sup>178</sup>)

<sup>176</sup> I.e. the reason; a standard term in Stoic philosophy.

<sup>177</sup> Another interjection by Cynulcus.

<sup>178</sup> Sc. by giving himself an appetite.

“Ἡμῖν δὲ αὐτάρκης μερὶς ἦν ἂν παρ’ ὑμῶν λάβω-  
μεν, καὶ οὐ χαλεπαίνομεν ὥς ἔλαττον φερόμενοι,  
καθάπερ ὁ παρὰ Ἀντικλείδῃ Ἡρακλῆς. φησὶ γὰρ  
οὗτος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Νόστων· μετὰ τὸ συντελέσαι  
τοὺς ἄθλους Ἡρακλέα Εὐρυσθέως θυσίαν τινὰ ἐπι-  
τελοῦντος συμπαραληφθέντα καὶ τῶν τοῦ Εὐρυσθέως  
υἱῶν τὰς μερίδας ἐκάστῳ παρατιθέντων, τῷ δ’ Ἡρα-  
κλεῖ ταπεινοτέραν || παραθέντων, ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἀτιμά-  
ζεσθαι ὑπολαβὼν ἀπέκτεινε τρεῖς τῶν παίδων Περι-  
μήδην, Εὐρύβιον, Εὐρύπυλον. οὐ τοιοῦτοι οὖν τὸν  
θυμὸν ἡμεῖς, εἰ καὶ πάντα Ἡρακλέους ζηλωταί.”

τραγικὸν γὰρ ἡ φακῇ ὅστιν, Ἀρχάγαθος ἔφη  
† πο γεγραφέναι †  
ρόφουντ’ Ὀρέστην τῆς νόσου πεπαυμένον,

φησὶ Σώφιλος ὁ κωμωδιοποιός. στωικὸν δὲ δόγμα  
ἐστὶν ὅτι τε πάντα εὖ ποιήσῃ ὁ σοφὸς καὶ φακῇν  
φρονίμως ἀρτύσει. διὸ καὶ Τίμων ὁ Φλιάσιος ἔφη·

b καὶ τὸ φακῇν ἔψειν ὅς μὴ φρονίμως μεμάθηκεν, |  
ὥς οὐκ ἄλλως δυναμένης ἐψηθῆναι φακῆς εἰ μὴ κατὰ  
τὴν Ζηνώνειον ὑφήγησιν, ὅς ἔφη·

εἰς δὲ φακῇν ἔμβαλλε δυωδέκατον κοριάννου.

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<sup>179</sup> I.e. (as befits Cynic doctrine) as a model of individual free-  
dom asserting itself against social convention. The quotation from  
Parmeniscus apparently ends at this point.

## BOOK IV

“Whatever share we get from you is enough for us, and we don’t become angry because we got a smaller portion, as Anticleides’ Heracles did. For he says in Book II of his *Homecomings* (*FGrH* 140 F 3): After Heracles completed his labors, he was included in the party when Eurytheus made a sacrifice. Eurystheus’ sons were serving each person his portion, and they served Heracles one of the poorer ones; he assumed that he was being insulted and and killed three of the boys, Perimedes, Eurybius, and Eurypylus. Our temperament is different, even if we imitate Heracles in every way.”<sup>179</sup>

For lentil soup is fit for tragedy, as Archagathos said  
† [corrupt] to have depicted Orestes gulping it down  
when he’d recovered from his sickness,

says the comic poet Sophilus (fr. 10). It is Stoic doctrine that the wise man will do everything well, including seasoning his lentil soup in a thoughtful way. This is why Timon of Phlius (*SH* 787) said:

who hasn’t even learned to cook lentil soup in a  
thoughtful way,

as if lentil soup could not be cooked in any way except in accord with the teachings of Zeno<sup>180</sup> (*SH* 788), who said:

Throw one-twelfth of a coriander seed into your  
lentil soup.

<sup>180</sup> Zeno of Citium (335–263 BCE), the original Stoic philosopher and a stern ascetic; see 4.160f n.

καὶ Κράτης δ' ὁ Θηβαῖος ἔλεγεν·

μὴ πρὸ φακῆς λοπάδ' αὖξων  
εἰς στάσιν ἄμμε βάλης,

Χρύσιππός τε ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ Καλοῦ γνώμας τινὰς  
ἡμῖν εἰσφέρων φησί·

μηδέποτ' ἐλαίαν ἔσθι', ἀκαλήφην ἔχων.  
χειμῶνος ὥρα βολβοφακῆν· βαβαί, βαβαί.  
c βολβοφακῆ δ' οἶον ἀμβροσίη ψύχους |  
κρυόεντος.

ὁ χαρίεις τε Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Γηρυτάδῃ ἔφη·  
πτισάνην διδάσκεις αὐτὸν ἔψειν ἢ φακῆν;

καὶ ἐν Ἀμφιαράῳ·

ὅστις φακῆν ἥδιστον ὄψων λαιδορεῖς.

Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν Διονύσοις·

< . . . > χύτρα δὲ φακέας ἤψετο.

Ἀντιφάνης Ὀμοίαις·

εὖ δ' ἐγίγνεθ' ὅτι φακῆν  
ἔψειν μ' ἐδίδασκε τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τις εἷς.

οἶδα δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὀδυσσέως τοῦ φρονιμωτάτου καὶ  
d συνετωτάτου ἀδελφὴν Φακῆν καλουμένην, ἣν ἄλλοι |



## BOOK IV

Likewise Crates of Thebes (*SH* 353) said:

Don't set us to arguing  
by praising a casserole-dish over lentil soup.

And Chrysippus in his *On the Good* (fr. 709a, *SVF* iii.178) offers us some maxims, saying:

Never eat an olive if you have a nettle.  
Hyacinth-bulb-and-lentil soup in the winter season—  
damn!, damn!  
Hyacinth-bulb-and-lentil soup is like ambrosia when  
the weather's freezing cold.

The witty Aristophanes as well said in *Gerytades* (fr. 165):

Are you teaching him to cook barley gruel or lentil  
soup?

And in *Amphiaraus* (fr. 23):

you who speak badly of lentil soup, the most delicious  
dish.

Epicharmus in *Dionysuses* (fr. 30):

A pot of lentil soup was cooking.

Antiphanes in *Women Who Looked Like Each Other* (fr. 171):

It turned out fine, because one  
of the locals taught me how to cook lentil soup.

I am also aware that the sister of the supremely thoughtful and intelligent Odysseus was named *Phakē* ("Lentil Soup"), although some other authorities refer to her as

τινὲς Καλλιστὼ ὀνομάζουσιν, ὡς ἱστορεῖν Μνασέαν  
τὸν Πατρεά ἐν τρίτῳ Εὐρωπιακῶν φησιν Λυσίμαχος  
ἐν τρίτῳ Νόστων.

Ἐπὶ τούτοις γελάσαντος πάνυ ἑκλαμπρον τοῦ  
Πλουτάρχου οὐκ ἐνέγκας ὁ κύων παροραθείσαν τὴν  
περὶ τῆς φακῆς πολυμάθειαν, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς γε, ἔφη, οἱ  
ἀπὸ τῆς καλῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, ὦ Πλούταρχε, σύν-  
τροφοί ἐστε τῷ φακίνῳ βρώματι καὶ πᾶσα ὑμῶν ἡ  
πόλις πλήρης ἐστὶ φακίνων· ὧν καὶ Σώπατρος ὁ  
Φάκιος παρωδὸς μέμνηται ἐν δράματι Βακχίδι λέγων  
e οὕτως· |

οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην εἰσορῶν χαλκήλατον  
μέγαν κολοσσὸν φάκινον ἄρτον ἐσθίειν.

ἐπεὶ τί δεῖ βροτοῖσι,

κατὰ τὸν σὸν Εὐριπίδην, γραμματικώτατε,

πλὴν δυοῖν μόνον,  
Δήμητρος ἀκτῆς πώματός θ' ὑδρηχόου,  
ἅπερ πάρεστι καὶ πέφυχ' ἡμᾶς τρέφειν;  
ὧν οὐκ ἀπαρκεῖ πλησμονή· τρυφῇ δέ τοι  
ἄλλων ἐδεστών μηχανὰς θηρεύομεν.

<sup>181</sup> At *Od.* 15.363 her name is Ctimenē.

<sup>182</sup> Sopater was actually from Paphos, but Cynulcus mockingly substitutes an invented ethnic formed from the word for "lentil."

## BOOK IV

Callisto,<sup>181</sup> as Mnaseas of Patra records in Book III of the *Account of Europe* (fr. 3 Cappelletto), according to Lysimachus in Book III of the *Homecomings* (FGrH 382 F 11).

Plutarch laughed rather loudly at these remarks; and the Cynic, who could not bear someone looking askance at the immense learning he displayed in regard to lentil soup, said: But you people from lovely Alexandria, Plutarch, grew up on food made of lentils, and your whole city is full of dishes that incorporate them. The parodist Sopater of Phacus<sup>182</sup> mentions them in his play *Bacchis* (fr. 1),<sup>183</sup> where he says the following:

When I gaze at this huge bronze statue,<sup>184</sup>  
it would be impossible for me to eat lentil bread.

Since what do mortals need,  
to quote your Euripides (fr. 892), my most learned grammarian,

except two items only,  
Demeter's grain and some water poured out for us to  
drink,  
which we have and whose nature it is to nourish us?  
But being full of them is not enough, and our taste  
for luxury  
makes us search for ways to produce other sorts of  
food.

<sup>183</sup> Variant titles for the play are attested at 4.160a; 14.644c, 656f.

<sup>184</sup> Perhaps a reference to the "colossal" statue of Helios in Rhodes.

κὰν ἄλλοις δέ φησιν ὁ σκηνικὸς οὗτος φιλόσοφος·

f ἀρκεῖ μετρία βιοτά μοι  
σώφρονος τραπέζης, |  
τὸ δ' ἄκαιρον ἅπαν ὑπερβάλ-  
λον τε μὴ προσείμαν.

καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης δ' ἔλεγεν τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων δια-  
φέρειν καθ' ὅσον οἱ μὲν ζῶσιν ἔν' ἐσθίωσιν, αὐτὸς δ'  
ἐσθίει ἵνα ζῇ. Διογένης τε πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκαλοῦντας  
αὐτῷ ἀποτριβομένῳ ἔλεγεν· “εἴθ' ἡδυνάμην καὶ τὴν  
γαστέρα τρίψας τῆς πείνης καὶ τῆς ἐνδείας παύσα-  
σθαι.” ὁ δ' Εὐριπίδης ἐν Ἰκέτισι περὶ τοῦ Καπανέως  
159 φησὶν· ||

Καпанεὺς ὅδ' ἐστίν· ᾧ βίος μὲν ἦν πολὺς,  
ἥκιστα δ' ὄλβῳ γαῦρος ἦν· φρόνημα δὲ  
οὐδέν τι μείζον εἶχεν ἢ πένης ἀνὴρ,  
ψέγων<sup>16</sup> τραπέζαις εἴ τις<sup>17</sup> ἐξογκοῖτ' ἄγαν,  
τάρκοῦν ἐπαινῶν<sup>18</sup>. οὐ γὰρ ἐν γαστρὸς βορᾷ  
τὸ χρηστὸν εἶναι, μέτρια δ' ἐξαρκεῖν ἔφη.

οὐκ ἦν γὰρ τοιοῦτος ὁ Καπανεὺς οἷον ὁ καλὸς Χρύ-  
σιππος διαγράφει ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Μὴ Δι' Αὐτὰ Αἵρε-  
τῶν λέγων ὧδε· ἐπὶ τοσοῦτόν τινες ἐκπίπτουσι πρὸς τὸ  
b φιλάργυρον ὥστε ἱστορῆσθαι πρὸς τῇ τελευτῇ | τινα  
μὲν καταπιόντα οὐκ ὀλίγους χρυσοῦς ἀποθανεῖν, τὸν  
δὲ ἕτερον ραψάμενον εἰς τινα χιτῶνα καὶ ἐνδύντα

<sup>16</sup> μισῶν τραπέζας 6.250f: φεύγων τραπέζαις Eur.

## BOOK IV

And elsewhere this stage-philosopher says (E. fr. 893):

The moderate way of life produced by  
a modest table is enough for me;  
I'd prefer to have nothing to do  
with any inappropriate excess.

Socrates too used to say that he was different from other people to the extent that they lived to eat, whereas he ate to live. And when people found fault with Diogenes for masturbating, he would say: "If only I could rub my belly too, and stop being hungry and in need!" Euripides says about Capaneus in *Suppliant Women* (861–6):

That's Capaneus. He was rich,  
but was not at all proud of his wealth; he gave  
himself no more airs than a poor man,  
and found fault with anyone who boasted too much  
about what he ate,  
praising simple sufficiency. The good life, he said,  
doesn't consist in food for the belly; modest fare is  
enough.

Capaneus was not like the man the noble Chrysippus depicts in his *On Things Not To Be Chosen for Their Own Sake* (x fr. 2, SVF iii.195), where he says the following: Some people descend so far into miserliness that tales are told of how at the end of his life one man swallowed a large number of gold coins and died, while another sewed his money up into a tunic, put it on, and told his family to bury

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<sup>17</sup> ὅστις Eur.

<sup>18</sup> τὰρκοῦντ' ἀτίζων Eur.

αὐτὸν ἐπισκῆψαι τοῖς οἰκείοις θάψαι οὕτως μήτε καύσαντας μήτε θεραπεύσαντας. οὗτοι γὰρ καὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι μονονουχὶ βοῶντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν·

ὦ χρυσέ, δεξίωμα κάλλιστον βροτοῖς,  
ὥς οὔτε μήτηρ ἡδονὰς τοίας ἔχει,  
οὐ παῖδες ἐν δόμοισιν<sup>19</sup>, οὐ φίλος πατήρ,  
c οἷας σὺ χοῖ σὲ δώμασιν κεκτημένοι. |  
εἰ δ' ἡ Κύπρις τοιοῦτον ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄρᾳ,  
οὐ θαῦμ' ἔρωτας μυρίους αὐτὴν ἔχειν.

τοιαύτη τις ἦν ἡ φιλοχρηματία παρὰ τοῖς τότε· περὶ ἧς Ἀνάχαρσις πυνθανομένου, “τινὸς πρὸς τί οἱ Ἕλληνες χρῶνται τῷ ἀργυρίῳ;”, εἶπεν· “πρὸς τὸ ἀριθμεῖν.” Διογένης δ' ἐν τῇ ἐαυτοῦ Πολιτείᾳ νόμισμα εἶναι νομοθετεῖ ἀστραγάλους. καλῶς γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα ὁ Εὐριπίδης εἶρηκε·

μὴ πλούτον εἶπης· οὐχὶ θαυμάζω θεόν,  
ὃν χῶ κάκιστος ῥαδίως ἐκτήσατο.

d Χρύσιππος | δ' ἐν τῇ εἰσαγωγῇ τῇ Εἰς τὴν Περὶ Ἀγαθῶν καὶ Κακῶν Πραγματείαν νεανίσκον φησὶ τινὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἰωνίας σφόδρα πλούσιον ἐπιδημῆσαι ταῖς Ἀθήναις πορφυρίδα ἡμφιεσμένον ἔχουσιν χρυσᾶ κράσπεδα. πυνθανομένου δέ τινος αὐτοῦ, “ποδαπὸς ἐστίν;”, ἀποκρίνασθαι ὅτι “πλούσιος. μήποτε τοῦ αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει καὶ Ἀλεξίς ἐν Θηβαίοις λέγων ὧδε·

<sup>19</sup> All other witnesses have ἀνθρώποισιν for Athenaeus' ἐν δόμοισιν.



## BOOK IV

him just as he was, without burning his corpse or preparing it for the grave. Because these men and others like them all but shout when they die (E. fr. 324<sup>185</sup>):

O gold, the item mortals are happiest to receive!  
Neither a mother nor children in one's house  
nor a beloved father provides the sort of pleasure  
that you and those who have you in their houses do.  
If Cypris casts golden glances with her eyes,  
it's no wonder she's attended by countless gods of  
love.

This is how greedy people were in those days. Anacharsis (fr. A45B Kindstrand) referred to their greed when someone asked him "What do the Greeks use money for?", and he said: "They count it." Diogenes in his own *Republic* ordains that the currency there is to be knucklebones. Because Euripides (fr. 20<sup>186</sup>) is quite right when he says the following:

Don't mention wealth! I have no respect for a god  
the worst person can easily get control of.

Chrysippus in the introduction to his treatise *On Good and Bad Things* (xvii fr. 2, SVF iii.196) says that an extremely wealthy young man from Ionia visited Athens wearing a purple robe with a gold fringe. When someone asked "Where did that come from?", he said: "From all the money I've got." Perhaps Alexis is referring to the same person when he says the following in *Thebans* (fr. 94):

<sup>185</sup> Identified by Stobaeus as coming from *Danae*.

<sup>186</sup> Identified by Stobaeus as coming from *Aeolus*.



(A.) ἐστὶν δὲ ποδαπὸς τὸ γένος οὗτος; (B.)  
πλούσιος.

τούτους δὲ πάντες φασὶν εὐγενεστάτους  
e <εἶναι>, πένητας δ' εὐπάτριδας οὐδεὶς ὀράῃ. |

Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ὁ Κύνουλκος, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐκροταλίσθη,  
θυμωθείς, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ οὗτοι, ἔφη, ὦ συμποσίαρχε,  
ὑπὸ λογοδιαρροίας ἐνοχλούμενοι μὴ πεινῶσιν ἢ τὰ  
περὶ τῆς φακῆς λεχθέντα χλευάζουσιν, ἐν νῶ ἔχοντες  
τὰ εἰρημένα Φερεκράτει ἐν Κοριαννοῖ.

(A.) φέρε δὴ κατακλινῶ· σὺ δὲ τράπεζαν ἔκφερε  
καὶ κύλिका κἀντραγεῖν, ἵν' ἥδιον πίω.

(B.) ἰδοὺ κύλιξ σοι καὶ τράπεζα καὶ φακοί.

f (A.) μή μοι φακοὺς, μὰ τὸν Δί'· οὐ γὰρ ἤδομαι. |  
ἦν γὰρ τράγη τις, τοῦ στόματος ὅζει κακόν.

ἐπεὶ οὖν διὰ τοῦτο φυλάττονται οἱ σοφοὶ οὗτοι τοὺς  
φακοὺς, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν γε ποίησον δοθῆναι ἄρτον, μεθ' ὧν  
μηδὲν τῶν πολυτελῶν, ἀλλὰ κἀν τὴν πολυθρύλητον  
ἔχης φακῆν ἢ τὸν καλούμενον κόγχον. γελασάντων δὲ  
πάντων καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ κόγχῳ μάλιστα, ἀπαίδευτοί ἐστε,  
ἔφη, ἄνδρες δαιτυμόνες, οὐκ ἀναγινώσκοντες βιβλία  
160 || ἃ μόνον παιδεύει τοὺς γε ἐπιθυμοῦντας τῶν καλῶν·  
λέγω δὲ τὰ Τίμωνος τοῦ Πυρρωνείου<sup>20</sup>. οὗτος γάρ

<sup>20</sup> Πυρρωνεῖον τῶν σίλλων A

<sup>187</sup> Presumably referring to Ulpian, although Larensius (the host of the party) is the next character to speak.

## BOOK IV

(A.) What sort of family is this fellow from? (B.) He's rich.

Everyone agrees that they're the noblest people there are; no one's ever seen a pauper from a distinguished background.

When Cynulcus got no applause for these remarks, he became angry and said: It's because these people, symposiarch,<sup>187</sup> are too troubled by their verbal diarrhea to be hungry, or else they don't take seriously what I said about lentil soup, since they are thinking of Pherecrates' words in *Corianno* (fr. 73):

(A.) Alright, I'd like to lie down. You—bring out a table

and a cup and something to eat, so I can enjoy my drinking more!

(B.) Here's a cup for you and a table and some lentils.

(A.) Don't serve me lentils, by Zeus! I don't like them;

if you eat them, your breath stinks.

Since, therefore, these wise men are on guard against lentils for this reason, arrange for us to be given bread, and nothing expensive along with it, but perhaps the famous lentil soup, if you have any, or what is referred to as *conchos*.<sup>188</sup> Everyone laughed, especially at the mention of *conchos*, and he said: You are uneducated, my fellow diners, since you do not read the only books that educate those who desire what is good. I am referring to those that contain the works of Pyrrhon's student Timon; for he is the

<sup>188</sup> Cf. Latin *conchis* (a type of bean boiled in its pod).

ἐστὶν ὃς καὶ τοῦ κόγχου μνημονεύει ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Σίλλων λέγων οὕτως·

οὔτε μοι ἢ Τεΐη μᾶζ' ἀνδάνει οὔτε καρύκκη  
ἢ Λυδῶν, λιτῇ δὲ καὶ ἀναλέῃ ἐνὶ κόγχῳ  
Ἑλλήνων ἢ πᾶσ' ἀπερισσοτρύφητος οἰζύς.

διαφόρων γὰρ οὐσῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκ Τέω μαζῶν (ὡς καὶ τῶν ἐξ Ἑρετρίας, ὡς Σώπατρος ἐν Βακχίδος Μνη-  
b στῆρσι φησὶν γάρ· |

Ἑρέτριαν ὠρμήθημεν εἰς λευκάλφιτον)

καὶ τῶν Λυδίων καρυκῶν προκρίνει ἀμφοτέρων ὁ Τίμων τὸν κόγχον.

Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ καλὸς ἡμῶν ἐστιάτωρ Λαρήνσιος καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη· ὧ ἄνδρες κύνες, οἱ < . . . ><sup>21</sup> κατὰ τὴν Στράτιδος τοῦ κωμωδιοποιοῦ Ἰοκάστην, ἥτις ἐν ταῖς ἐπιγραφομέναις Φοινίσσαις φησὶν·

παραινέσαι δὲ σφῶν τι βούλομαι σοφόν·  
ὅταν φακῇν ἔψητε, μὴ ἵπιχύν μύρον.

c καὶ ὁ Σώπατρος δέ, οὗ τὰ νῦν μέμνησαι, ἐν Νεκυίᾳ | μνημονεύει οὕτως·

Ἰθακος Ὀδυσσεύς, τοῦπὶ τῇ φακῇ μύρον,  
πάρεστι θάρσει, θυμέ.

<sup>21</sup> κυνοσσοῖ Schweighäuser

## BOOK IV

one who mentions *conchos* in Book II of his *Silloi* (SH 777), where he says the following:

I take no pleasure in Tean barley-cake or Lydian  
*karukkē*<sup>189</sup>; in a simple, dry *conchos*  
consists the entire, scarcely luxurious woe of the  
Greeks.

Because although barley-cakes from Teos are particularly good—as are those from Eretria, according to Sopater in *The Suitors of Bacchis* (fr. 3),<sup>190</sup> for he says:

We set off to Eretria of the white barley groats—  
and Lydian *karukkai* are as well, Timon prefers *conchos* to  
both of them.

In response, our noble host Larensius himself said:  
Cynic sirs, who . . . to quote the comic poet Strattis' Jocasta,  
who says in the play entitled *Phoenician Women* (fr. 47):<sup>191</sup>

I want to give the two of you some wise advice:  
when you cook lentil soup, don't pour perfume into  
it!<sup>192</sup>

Likewise Sopater, whom you referred to just a moment ago, mentions the saying in *Raising the Dead* (fr. 13), as follows:

Ithacan Odysseus is here—the perfume's  
in the lentil soup! Cheer up, heart!

<sup>189</sup> See 4.132f n.                      <sup>190</sup> For the title, see 4.158d n.

<sup>191</sup> A parody of E. *Ph.* 460–1.                      <sup>192</sup> The proverb (see below) is roughly equivalent to “Don't throw good money after bad,” as the references to it at Cic. *Att.* 1.19.2 and Gell. *NA* 13.29.5 show: no amount of perfume can make lentil soup smell good.

Κλέαρχος δὲ ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπάτου ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Παροιμιῶν ὡς παροιμίαν ἀναγράφει τὸ “ἐπὶ τῇ φακῇ μύρον”, ἧς μέμνηται καὶ ὁ ἐμὸς προπάτωρ Οὐάρρων ὁ Μενίππειος ἐπικαλούμενος· καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν γραμματικῶν τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν οὐχ ὁμιλήσαντες πολλοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ποιηταῖς καὶ συγγραφεῦσιν οὐκ ἴσασιν  
d ὅθεν εἴληφεν ὁ Οὐάρρων τὸ ἱαμβεῖον. σὺ | δέ μοι δοκεῖς, ὦ Κύνουлке (τούτῳ γὰρ χαίρεις τῷ ὀνόματι, οὐ λέγων ὁ ἐκ γενετῆς σε ἢ μήτηρ κέκληκε), κατὰ τὸν σὸν Τίμωνα εἶναι

< . . . > μύκλος καλός<sup>22</sup> τε μέγας τε,

οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι κόγχος παρὰ προτέρῳ μνήμης τετύχηκεν Ἐπιχάρμῳ ἐν τῇ Ἑορτᾷ καὶ Νάσοις Ἀντιφάνει τε τῷ κωμικῷ, ὃς ὑποκοριστικώτερον αὐτὸν ὠνόμασεν ἐν Γάμῳ οὕτως·

κογχίον τε μικρὸν ἀλλὰντός τε προστετμημένον.

e Ἐξῆς ἀρπάσας τὸν λόγον ὁ Μάγνος, ὁ μὲν πάντα | ἄριστος, ἔφη, Λαρήνσιος ὀξέως καὶ καλῶς ἀπήντησε τῷ γάστριδι κυνὶ περὶ τοῦ κόγχου. ἐγὼ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ Παφίου Σωπάτρου Γαλάτας,

παρ’ οἷς ἔθος ἐστίν, ἡνίκ’ ἂν προτέρημά τι ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις λάβωσι, θύειν τοῖς θεοῖς

<sup>22</sup> μύκλος καλός Lloyd-Jones-Parsons, following Kaibel and Wilamowitz: μοι καλός A

## BOOK IV

Clearchus of the Peripatetic school in his *On Proverbs* (fr. 83 Wehrli) records "The perfume's in the lentil soup" as a proverb, and my ancestor Varro, nicknamed the Menippean, mentions it too.<sup>193</sup> Most Roman grammarians, being unacquainted with many Greek poets and prose-authors, do not know Varro's source for the line. But you, Cynulcus—for you like this name and never refer to the one your mother has called you by since you were born<sup>194</sup>—seem to me to be, as your Timon (*SH* 789) puts it,

a big, handsome donkey,

given that you are unaware that *conchos* is mentioned by an earlier author, Epicharmus, in his *Festival* (fr. 38) and *Islands* (fr. 94), as well as by the comic poet Antiphanes, who used a diminutive form of the word in *The Marriage*<sup>195</sup> (fr. 72), as follows:

and a tiny little *conchos* and a slice cut from the  
sausage.

Immediately after this Magnus seized the floor and said: The universally excellent Larensius has responded acutely and properly to this gluttonous dog regarding *conchos*. I, on the other hand, to quote Sopater of Paphos' *Celts* (fr. 6),

whose custom is, whenever they enjoy some  
success in their wars, to sacrifice their prisoners

<sup>193</sup> The proverb was in fact the title of the work (frr. 549–51 Astbury) <sup>194</sup> Cf. 1.1d. Cynulcus' real name is eventually revealed to be Theodorus (15.669e, 692b).

<sup>195</sup> Called *The Wedding Feast* at 3.95a.

τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, <τοὺς> Γαλάτας μιμούμενος  
 κἀγὼ κατακαύσειν ἠϋξάμην τοῖς δαίμοσι  
 διαλεκτικούς τρεῖς τῶν παρεγγεγραμμένων.  
 f καὶ μὴν φιλοσοφεῖν φιλολογεῖν τ' ἀκηκοὺς |  
 ὑμᾶς ἐπιμελῶς καρτερεῖν θ' αἵρουμένους  
 τὴν πείραν ὑγιῇ λήψομαι τῶν δογμάτων,  
 † προσθ' τον † καπνίζων· εἴτ' ἐὰν ὀπτωμένων  
 ἴδω τιν' ὑμῶν συσπᾶσαντα τὸ σκέλος,  
 Ζηνωνικῶ πραθήσεθ' οὗτος κυρίῳ  
 ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ, τὴν φρόνησιν ἀγνοῶν.

161 μετὰ παρρησίας γὰρ ἐρῶ πρὸς αὐτούς· εἰ αὐτάρκειαν  
 ἀσπάζῃ, φιλόσοφε, τί οὐ τοὺς Πυθαγορικούς || ἐκεί-  
 νους ζηλοῖς, περὶ ὧν φησιν Ἀντιφάνης μὲν ἐν Μνή-  
 μασι τάδε·

τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν δ' ἔτυχον ἄθλιοί τινες  
 ἐν τῇ χαράδρᾳ τρώγοντες ἄλιμα καὶ κακὰ  
 τοιαῦτα συλλέγοντες <ἐν τῷ κωρύκῳ>.

κὰν τῷ κυρίως Κωρύκῳ δ' ἐπιγραφομένῳ φησί·

πρῶτον μὲν ὥσπερ πυθαγορίζων ἐσθίει  
 ἔμφυχον οὐδέν, τῆς δὲ πλείστης τοῦ βολοῦ  
 b μάζης μελαγχρῇ μερίδα λαμβάνων λέπει. |

Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν Ταραντίνοις·

196 The disciples of Zeno (for whom, see 4.158b n.) allegedly subsisted on little more than bread and water; cf. D.L. 7.27, quoting Philem. fr. 88 and Posidipp. fr. 16.



## BOOK IV

to the gods. In imitation of the Celts,  
I for my part vowed to immolate for the gods  
three fake philosophers.  
I've certainly heard the group of you earnestly opting  
to philosophize, philologize, and practice endurance;  
so I'm going to test the health of your doctrines  
[corrupt] by smoking. Then, while you're roasting,  
if I see that one of you drew his leg back,  
he'll be sold to a Zenonian master<sup>196</sup>  
for export, since he's ignorant of true thought.

For I am going to speak freely to them: If you are eager for  
mere sufficiency<sup>197</sup>, philosopher, why do you not imitate  
the well-known disciples of Pythagoras, about whom An-  
tiphanes says the following in *Monuments* (fr. 158):

Some miserable Pythagoreans happened  
to be eating sea orach in the ravine and collecting  
nasty foods of that sort in their leather bags.

And in the play properly entitled *The Leather Bag* (fr. 133),  
he says:

First of all, he acts like a Pythagorean and eats  
nothing that's alive, but buys a black piece of  
the biggest barley-cake he can get for an obol and  
gnaws on it.

Alexis in *Men from Tarentum* (fr. 223, encompassing both  
quotations):

<sup>197</sup> Cf. 4.157f (where Cynulcus is, however, only quoting one  
of Parmeniscus' characters), 164a.

(A.) οἱ πυθαγορίζοντες γάρ, ὥς ἀκούομεν,  
οὔτ' ὄψον ἐσθίουσιν οὔτ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν  
ἔμφυχον, οἶνόν τ' οὐχὶ πίνουσιν μόνοι.

(B.) Ἐπιχαρίδης μέντοι κύνας κατεσθίει,  
τῶν Πυθαγορείων εἷς. (A.) ἀποκτείνας γέ πον·  
οὐκέτι γάρ ἐστ' ἔμφυχον.

προελθὼν τέ φησι·

(A.) πυθαγορισμοὶ καὶ λόγοι  
λεπτοὶ διεσμιλευμένοι τε φροντίδες  
c τρέφουσ' ἐκείνους, τὰ δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν τάδε· |  
ἄρτος καθαρὸς εἷς ἐκατέρῳ, ποτήριον  
ὑδατος· τοσαῦτα ταῦτα. (B.) δεσμωτηρίου  
λέγεις δίαιταν. πάντες οὕτως οἱ σοφοὶ  
διάγουσι καὶ τοιαῦτα κακοπαθοῦσιν; (A.) οὔ·  
τρυφῶσιν οὗτοι πρὸς ἐτέρους. ἄρ' οἴσθ' ὅτι  
Μελανιππίδης ἐταῖρός ἐστι καὶ Φάων  
καὶ Φυρόμαχος καὶ Φᾶνος, οἳ δι' ἡμέρας  
δειπνοῦσι πέμπτῃς ἀλφίτων κοτύλην μίαν;

καὶ ἐν Πυθαγορίζούσῃ·

<sup>198</sup> PAA 399660. This is probably the same man as the one who, according to the comic poet Alexis (fr. 248, quoted at 4.165e), ran through his inheritance in five days, in which case the point must be that he eats dogs because he now has no money to buy anything else. That he was actually a Pythagorean seems unlikely. <sup>199</sup> Phyromachus is probably the gluttonous parasite mentioned by various authors preserved at 6.245e; 8.343b; 10.414d–e. Nothing else is known of Melanippides (PAA 638480),

## BOOK IV

(A.) Because the Pythagoreans, according to what we hear,  
don't eat fish or anything else that's  
alive; and they're the only people who don't drink  
wine.

(B.) But Epicharides<sup>198</sup> eats dogs,  
even though he's one of the Pythagoreans. (A.) After  
he kills them, I imagine;  
then it's not alive anymore.

And further on he says:

(A.) Pythagorean terms and over-subtle  
arguments and finely-chiselled thoughts  
provide their nourishment, and on a daily basis they  
have the following:  
a single loaf of high-quality bread for both of them  
and a cup  
of water. That's it. (B.) You're talking about  
a prison diet! Do all these wise men live  
like this and endure such misery? (A.) No;  
these people have a luxurious existence compared  
with others. Don't you realize that  
Melanippides is a disciple, and Phaon  
and Phyromachus and Phanus?<sup>199</sup> And that once  
every four days  
they get a single cup of barley groats for dinner?

Also in *The Female Pythagorean* (Alex. fr. 201, encompassing both quotations):

Phaon, or Phanus; but most likely none of the men referred to in the fragment were actually Pythagoreans.

- d (A.) ἡ δ' ἐστίασις ἰσχάδες καὶ στέμφυλα |  
καὶ τυρὸς ἔσται· ταῦτα γὰρ θύειν νόμος  
τοῖς Πυθαγορείοις. (B.) νῆ Δί', ἱερεῖον μὲν οὖν  
ὁποῖον ἂν κάλλιστον, ὧ βέλτιστ', ἔχῃ.

καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα·

ἔδει θ' ὑπομεῖναι μικροσιτίαν, ῥύπον,  
ῥῖγος, σιωπὴν, στυγνότητ', ἀλουσίαν.

- τούτων δ' ὑμεῖς, ὧ φιλόσοφοι, οὐδὲν ἀσκέετε, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
τὸ πάντων χαλεπώτατον λαλεῖτε περὶ ὧν οὐκ οἶδατε  
καὶ ὡς κοσμίως ἐσθίωντες ποιεῖτε τὴν ἔνθεσιν κατὰ  
e τὸν ἡδιστον Ἀντιφάνη· οὗτος γὰρ ἐν | Δραπεταγωγῷ  
λέγει·

κοσμίως ποιῶν τὴν ἔνθεσιν  
μικρὰν μὲν ἐκ τοῦμπροσθε, μεστὴν δ' ἔνδοθεν  
τὴν χεῖρα, καθάπερ αἱ γυναῖκες, κατέφαγεν  
πάμπολλα καὶ ταχύτατα,

ἐξὸν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ποιητὴν ἐν Βομβυλιῷ  
λέγοντα δραχμῆς ὠνήσασθαι τὰς προσφόρους ὑμῖν  
τροφάς,

σκόροδα, τυρόν, κρόμμνα,  
κάππαριν < . . . > πάντα ταῦτ' ἐστὶν δραχμῆς.

Ἀριστοφῶν δ' ἐν Πυθαγοριστῇ·

- f πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, οἰόμεθα τοὺς πάλαι ποτέ, |  
τοὺς Πυθαγοριστὰς γινομένους ὄντως ῥυπᾶν

## BOOK IV

(A.) You'll be dining on dried figs, olive pomace,  
and cheese; this is what the Pythagoreans  
customarily sacrifice. (B.) By Zeus, the meal features  
the  
finest sacrificial offering there is, my very good sir!

And after a bit:

We had to endure limited food, dirt,  
cold, silence, sullenness, and no baths.

But you, my philosophers, practice none of this; and what  
is worst of all, you chatter about topics you are ignorant of,  
and when you eat, you put the food in your mouths in a de-  
cent way, to quote the very entertaining Antiphanes, who  
says in *The Slave-Catcher* (fr. 87):

By making what he put in his mouth look decently  
small from the front, while having the interior of his  
hand  
full, like women do, he gobbled down  
a lot of food very rapidly.

But, as this same poet says in *The Bumblebee* (fr. 63),  
you could have purchased the food that suits you for a  
drachma:

garlic, cheese, onions,  
pepper . . . all this costs a drachma.

Aristophon in *The Pythagorean* (fr. 9):

Do we, by the gods, think that the ancient  
Pythagoreans,  
who really were Pythagoreans, were dirty

162 ἐκόντας ἢ φορεῖν τρίβωνας ἡδέως;  
 οὐκ ἔστι τούτων οὐδέν, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ.  
 ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης, οὐκ ἔχοντες οὐδὲ ἔν,  
 τῆς εὐτελείας πρόφασιν εὐρόντες καλὴν  
 ὅρους ἔπηξαν τοῖς πένησι χρησίμους.  
 ἐπεὶ παράθες αὐτοῖσιν ἰχθῦς ἢ κρέας,  
 καὶ μὴ κατεσθίωσι καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους,  
 ἐθέλω κρέμασθαι δεκάκις. ||

οὐκ ἄκαιρον δ' ἐστὶν μνημονεῦσαι καὶ τοῦ εἰς ὑμᾶς  
 ποιηθέντος ἐπιγράμματος, ὅπερ παρέθετο ὁ Δελφὸς  
 Ἡγήσανδρος ἐν ἑκτῷ Ὑπομνημάτων.

ὀφρυανασπασίδαι, ῥινεγκαταπηξιγένειοι,  
 σακκογενειοτρόφοι καὶ λοπαδαρπαγίδαι,  
 εἵματανωπερίβαλλοι, ἀνηλιποκαιβλεπέλαιοι,  
 νυκτιλαθραιοφάγοι, νυκτιπαταιπλάγιοι,  
 b μειρακιεξαπάται <καὶ> συλλαβοπενσιλαληταί, |  
 δοξοματαιόσοφοι, ζηταρετησιάδαι.

Ἀρχέστρατός τε ὁ Γελῶς ἐν τῇ Γαστρολογίᾳ—ἣν  
 μόνην ὑμεῖς ῥαψωδίαν οἱ σοφοὶ ἀσπάζεσθε, μόνον  
 τοῦτο πυθαγορίζοντες τὸ σιωπᾶν, δι' ἀσθένειαν λόγων  
 τοῦτο ποιοῦντες, ἔτι τε τὴν Σφοδρίου τοῦ κυνικοῦ  
 Τέχνην Ἐρωτικὴν καὶ τὰς Πρωταγορίδου Ἀκροάσεις  
 Ἐρωτικὰς Περσαίου τε τοῦ καλοῦ φιλοσόφου Συμ-

<sup>200</sup> A mark of a haughty contempt for others; see 2.35d n.

<sup>201</sup> The quotation is finally offered at 4.163c–d.

## BOOK IV

because they wanted to be, or enjoyed wearing rough robes?

None of this is true, in my opinion.

Instead, they didn't have anything, so they were forced to

find a good excuse for their shabbiness  
and impose standards that worked for the poor.

But serve them some fish or meat,  
and if they don't consume their fingers along with it,  
I'm willing to be hanged ten times.

This is not a bad time to mention as well the epigram (anon. *FGE* 1752–7) directed against you that Hegesander of Delphi quoted in Book VI of his *Commentaries* (fr. 2, *FHG* iv.413):

Sons-of-eyebrow-raisers,<sup>200</sup> noses-stuck-into-beards,  
coarse-beard-growers and sons-of-casserole-dish-  
snatchers,  
garments-about-their-face-wrappers, barefoot-and-  
with-a-lamp-oil-look,  
nighttime-secret-eaters, nighttime-sidestreet-  
trodders,  
boy-deceivers and syllable-question-chatterers,  
foolish-belief-philosophers, sons-of-virtue-seekers.

Archestratus of Gela in his *Gastrology*<sup>201</sup>—this is the only epic poem you clever people appreciate, while the only Pythagorean rule you honor is to keep quiet, which you do because you have nothing to say; you also appreciate the *Erotic Technique* of Sphodrius the Cynic, the *Erotic Lectures* of Protagorides (*FGrH* 853 T 2), and the *Drinking-Party Dialogues* of the noble philosopher Persaeus (*FGrH*



ποτικούς Διαλόγους συντεθέντας ἐκ τῶν Στίλπωνος  
καὶ Ζήνωνος Ἀπομνημονευμάτων, ἐν οἷς ζητεῖ, ὅπως  
c ἂν μὴ κατακοιμηθῶσιν | οἱ συμπόται, πῶς<sup>23</sup> ταῖς  
ἐπιχύσεσι χρηστέον πηνίκα τε εἰσακτέον τοὺς ὥραί-  
ους καὶ τὰς ὥραιάς εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον καὶ πότε αὐτοὺς  
προσδεκτέον ὥραιζομένους καὶ πότε παραπεμπτέον  
ὥς ὑπερορῶντας, καὶ περὶ προσοψημάτων καὶ περὶ  
ἄρτων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα τε περιεργότερον περὶ  
φιλημάτων εἶρηκεν ὁ Σωφρονίσκου φιλόσοφος, ὃς  
περὶ ταῦτα τὴν διάνοιαν ἀεὶ στρέφων πιστευθείς, ὥς  
φησιν Ἑρμιππος, ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον  
d κωθωνιζόμενος ἐξέπεσεν | καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς Κορίνθου,  
καταστρατηγηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σικυωνίου Ἀράτου, ὁ πρό-  
τερον ἐν τοῖς Διαλόγοις Πρὸς Ζήνωνα διαμιλλώμενος  
ὥς ὁ σοφὸς πάντως ἂν εἴη καὶ στρατηγὸς ἀγαθός,  
μόνον τοῦτο διὰ τῶν ἔργων διαβεβαιωσάμενος ὁ κα-  
λὸς τοῦ Ζήνωνος οἰκετιεύς. χαριέντως γὰρ ἔφη Βίων ὁ  
Βορυσθενίτης θεασάμενος αὐτοῦ χαλκῆν εἰκόνα, ἐφ'  
ἧς ἐπεγέγραπτο "Περσαῖον Ζήνωνος Κιτιᾶ," πεπλανή-  
e σθαι<sup>24</sup> τὸν ἐπιγράψαντα· δεῖν γὰρ οὕτως | ἔχειν, "Περ-  
σαῖον Ζήνωνος οἰκετιᾶ." ἦν γὰρ ὄντως οἰκέτης γεγο-

<sup>23</sup> καὶ πῶς ACE<sup>24</sup> πεπλανήσθαι εἶπε A

<sup>202</sup> Stilpon of Megara (late 4th/early 3rd century BCE) was the head of the Megarian school and one of the teachers of Zeno of Citium (for whom, see 4.158b n.; 5.186c–d). Persaeus was his slave and eventually his student; see below.

<sup>203</sup> Socrates.

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584 F 6 = fr. 452, SVF i.101), which were compiled from the *Memoirs* of Stilpon and Zeno,<sup>202</sup> in which he tries to keep the guests at the symposium from falling asleep by asking how toasts should be made, and at what point good-looking young men and women should be introduced into the party, and when one ought to put up with their acting affectedly and when they ought to be kicked out for ignoring others, as well as questions about the items eaten along with the meal, and bread, and other matters, including whatever rather elaborate remarks Sophroniscus' son the philosopher<sup>203</sup> made about kisses (cf. X. *Mem.* 2.6.32–3). Persaeus was constantly turning his attention to subjects of this sort; and when, according to Hermippus (fr. 91 Wehrli), he was entrusted with Acrocorinth by Antigonus, he got drunk and was expelled from Corinth itself when Aratus of Sicyon out-generalled him<sup>204</sup>—although before this he maintained in his *Dialogues Addressed to Zeno* that the wise man would necessarily be a good general as well, which is the only point the actions of Zeno's noble slave established!<sup>205</sup> Because when Bion of Borysthenes (fr. 73 Kindstrand) saw a bronze statue of him on which the words “Persaeus (the student) of Zeno of Citium” (*Zēnōnos Kitia*) had been inscribed, he wittily remarked that the stone-cutter had made a mistake, for it should have been as follows: “Persaeus the slave of Zeno” (*Zēnōnos oiketia*). Be-

<sup>204</sup> The events described took place in 244–243 BCE, and the Antigonus in question is Antigonus Gonatas (reigned c.277/6–239), whose son Persaeus had tutored. After he lost Acrocorinth, Persaeus committed suicide.

<sup>205</sup> If the wise man will necessarily be a good general, then the fool will presumably be a bad one—as Persaeus proved by losing Acrocorinth.

νὼς τοῦ Ζήνωνος, ὡς Νικίας ὁ Νικαεὺς ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῇ  
 Περὶ τῶν Φιλοσόφων Ἱστορίᾳ καὶ Σωτίων ὁ Ἀλεξαν-  
 δρεὺς ἐν ταῖς Διαδοχαῖς. δύο δὲ συγγράμμασι τοῦ  
 Περσαίου ἀπηντήκαμεν τῆς σοφῆς ταύτης πραγμα-  
 τείας τοιοῦτον ἔχουσι τὸ ἐπίγραμμα Συμποτικῶν Δια-  
 λόγων. Κτησίβιος δ' ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς ὁ Μενεδήμου γνώ-  
 ριμος, ὥς φησιν Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν τοῖς Βίοις,  
 f ἐρωτηθεὶς | ὑπό τινος τί περιγέγονεν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας  
 αὐτῷ, ἔφη “ἀσυμβόλῳ δειπνεῖν.” διὸ καὶ ὁ Τίμων που  
 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη·

δειπνομανές, νεβροῦ ὄμματ' ἔχων, κραδίην δ'  
 ἀκύλιστον.

163 ἦν δ' εὖστοχος ὁ Κτησίβιος καὶ χαρίεις περὶ τὸ  
 γελοῖον· διὸ καὶ πάντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰ συμπόσια ||  
 παρεκάλουν· οὐχ ὥσπερ σύ, κυνικέ, ὁ μηδέποτε ταῖς  
 Χάρισιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ταῖς Μούσαις θύσας. φυγοῦσα σε  
 καὶ τοὺς σοὶ παραπλησίους ἢ Ἀρετὴ Ἡδονῇ παρα-  
 κάθεται, ὥς φησι Μνασάλκης ὁ Σικυώνιος ἐν Ἐπι-  
 γράμμασιν·

ἄδ' ἐγὼ ἅ τλάμων Ἀρετὰ παρὰ τῇδε κάθημαι  
 Ἄδονῃ αἰσχίστως κειραμένη πλοκάμους,  
 b θυμὸν ἄχει μεγάλῳ βεβολημένη εἴπερ ἅπασιν |  
 ἅ κακόφρων Τέρψις κρεῖσσον ἐμοῦ κέκριται.

Βάτων δ' ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Ἀνδροφόνῳ φησί·

τῶν φιλοσόφων τοὺς σῶφρονας ἐνταυθοῖ καλῶ,

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cause he was in fact Zeno's slave, according to Nicias of Nicaea in his *Inquiry Concerning the Philosophers* and Sotion of Alexandria in his *Successions* (fr. 21 Wehrli). I have come across two books of this clever treatise by Persaeus, which bear the title *Symposium Dialogues*. According to Antigonos of Carystus in his *Lives* (p. 102 Wilamowitz), when someone asked Menedemus' acquaintance Ctesibius of Chalcis what good he had got out of philosophy, he said (SSR III.H.1): "I didn't pay for my dinners." This is why Timon (SH 790) said about him somewhere:

dinner-crazed, with a fawn's eyes and a firm heart.<sup>206</sup>

Ctesibius always knew the right remarks to make and was amusingly witty, which is why everyone used to invite him to their drinking parties. Not like you, Cynic, who never made a sacrifice to the Graces, or to the Muses either! Virtue therefore ran away from you and those like you, and is sitting next to Pleasure, as Mnasalces of Sicyon says in the *Epigrams* (HE 2667–70):

Here I, wretched Virtue, sit, beside Pleasure  
here, with my long hair shamefully cropped,<sup>207</sup>  
stricken with tremendous grief in my heart, if in fact  
everyone  
prefers heedless Enjoyment to me.

The comic poet Baton says in *The Murderer* (fr. 2):

<sup>206</sup> A parody of *Il.* 1.225.

<sup>207</sup> As if she were an aristocratic woman abruptly reduced to being another woman's slave.

τοὺς ἀγαθὸν αὐτοῖς οὐ διδόντας οὐδὲ ἔν,  
 τοὺς τὸν φρόνιμον ζητοῦντας ἐν τοῖς περιπάτοις  
 καὶ ταῖς διατριβαῖς ὥσπερ ἀποδεδρακότα.  
 ἄνθρωπ' ἀλάστωρ, διὰ τί συμβολὰς ἔχων  
 c νήφεις; τί τηλικούτον ἀδικεῖς τοὺς θεούς; |  
 τί τὰργύριον, ἄνθρωπε, τιμιώτερον  
 † σαντοῦ τέθεικας ἢ πέφυκε τῇ φύσει;  
 ἀλυσιτελὴς εἰ τῇ πόλει πίνων ὕδωρ.  
 τὸν γὰρ γεωργὸν καὶ τὸν ἔμπορον κακοῖς.  
 ἐγὼ δὲ τὰς προσόδους μεθύων καλὰς ποῶ.  
 ἔπειθ' ἔωθεν περιάγεις τὴν λήκυθον  
 καταμανθάνων τοῦλαιον, ὥστε περιφέρειν  
 ὠρολόγιον δόξει τις, οὐχὶ λήκυθον.

Ἀρχέστρατος δέ, ὃ Κύνουλκε, ὃν ἀντὶ τοῦ Ὀμήρου  
 προσκυνεῖς διὰ τὴν γαστέρα,

d ἥς οὐ λαμυρώτερον | οὐδέν,

ὁ Τίμων σου, περὶ τοῦ κυνὸς τοῦ θαλαπτίου ἱστορῶν  
 γράφει καὶ ταῦτα·

ἀλλ' οὐ πολλοὶ ἴσασι βροτῶν τόδε θεῖον ἔδεσμα  
 οὐδ' ἔσθειν ἐθέλουσιν ὅσοι κουφαττελεβώδη

<sup>208</sup> The speaker probably went on to maintain that he, as a "good citizen," used oil lavishly, thus stimulating the local economy in a second way. <sup>209</sup> A more complete version of the line is given at 7.279f.

<sup>210</sup> A number of additional verses from the same fragment are preserved at 7.310c–e.

## BOOK IV

I'm summoning the prudent philosophers here,  
the ones who never allow themselves anything good,  
and who seek for "the wise man" in their walks  
and their discussions as if he were a runaway slave.  
Miserable creature—if you have money to contribute  
to a party,  
why are you sober? Why do you wrong the gods so  
much?

Why do you value your cash, sir,  
† more than yourself or what it's really worth?  
You're no use to the city if you drink water,  
because you're hurting the farmer and the trader;  
whereas I increase their income by getting drunk.  
Next, as soon as the sun rises you're carrying your  
flask around  
and constantly checking the oil, with the result that  
someone's likely  
to think you're carrying around a water-clock rather  
than an oil-flask!<sup>208</sup>

But Archestratus (fr. 24.13–20 Olson–Sens = *SH* 154.13–20), Cynulcus, whom you worship in place of Homer at the urging of your belly—

than which nothing is more greedy,

as your Timon (*SH* 781)<sup>209</sup> puts it—offers the following information about the shark in his writings:<sup>210</sup>

But few mortals know about this divine food,  
and those mortals who have the sense of a foolish  
locust

ψυχὴν κέκτηνται θνητῶν εἰσὶν τ' ἀπόπληκτοι,  
ὥς ἀνθρωποφάγου τοῦ θηρίου ὄντος. ἅπας δὲ  
ἰχθὺς σάρκα φιλεῖ βροτεήν, ἅν που περικύρσῃ  
ὥστε πρέπει καθαρῶς ὅποσοι τάδε μωρολογοῦσι  
τοῖς λαχάνοις προσάγειν καὶ πρὸς Διόδωρον  
e ἰόντας |

τὸν σοφὸν ἐγκρατέως μετ' ἐκείνου πυθαγορίζειν.

ἦν δ' ὁ Διόδωρος οὗτος τὸ μὲν γένος Ἀσπένδιος,  
Πυθαγορικὸς δὲ δόξας εἶναι ὑμῶν τῶν κυνικῶν τρόπον  
ἕξῃ, κομῶν καὶ ῥυπῶν καὶ ἀνυποδητῶν. ὅθεν καὶ  
Πυθαγορικὸν τὸ τῆς κόμης ἔδοξαν εἶναί τινες ἀπὸ τοῦ  
Διοδώρου προαχθέν, ὥς φησιν Ἑρμιππος. Τίμαιος δ'  
ὁ Ταυρομενίτης ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ  
γράφει οὕτως· Διοδώρου τοῦ τὸ γένος Ἀσπενδίου τὴν  
ἑξήλλαγμένην εἰσαγαγόντος κατασκευὴν καὶ τοῖς Πυ-  
f θαγορείοις πεπλησιακέσαι | προσποιηθέντος· πρὸς ὃν  
ἐπιστέλλων ὁ Στρατόνικος ἐκέλευσε τὸν ἀπαίροντα τὸ  
ῥήθην ἀπαγγεῖλαι

τῷ περὶ θηροπέπλου μανίας ὕβρεώς τε  
περιστάσιμον  
στοὰν ἔχοντι Πυθαγόρου πελάτα.

Σωσικράτης δ' ἐν τρίτῳ Φιλοσόφων Διαδοχῆς βαθεῖ  
πώγωνι χρήσασθαι τὸν Διόδωρον ἱστορεῖ καὶ τρί-

<sup>211</sup> For an extensive collection of anecdotes about the lyre-



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and are insane refuse to consume it,  
on the ground that this beast eats human beings. But  
every  
fish likes human flesh, if it encounters it somewhere.  
Therefore it is clearly appropriate that those who talk  
this nonsense  
keep company with vegetables and go to the wise  
Diodorus and temperately play the Pythagorean  
along with him.

This Diodorus was an Aspendian by birth, and was thought to be a Pythagorean but lived as you Cynics do, growing his hair long and going dirty and barefoot. As a result, some people believed that having long hair was a Pythagorean habit, since it was promoted by Diodorus, according to Hermippus (fr. 24 Wehrli). Timaeus of Tauromenium writes the following about him in Book IX of his *Histories* (FGrH 566 F 16): Diodorus, an Aspendian by birth, introduced their strange way of life and pretended to have been associated with the Pythagoreans. Stratoniceus<sup>211</sup> sent him a message and told the slave as he was taking it away to announce what he had been told to say

to the dependant of Pythagoras who occupies a stoa  
crowded with witnesses  
to his madness in wearing animal skins and to his  
insolence.

Sosicrates in Book III of his *Succession of Philosophers* (fr.

player Stratoniceus of Athens (Stephanis #2310; c.410–360 BCE), see 8.347f–52d; and cf. Philetaer. fr. 14 (quoted at 4.169e).

βωνα ἀναλαβεῖν κόμην τε φορῆσαι<sup>25</sup> κατὰ τινὰ τύφον  
τὴν ἐπιτήδευσιν ταύτην εἰσαγαγόντα, τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ  
164 Πυθαγορικῶν λαμπρᾷ τε ἐσθῆτι ἀμφιεννυμένων || καὶ  
λουτροῖς καὶ ἀλείμμασι κουρᾷ τε τῇ συνήθει χρω-  
μένων. εἰ δ' ὑμεῖς οὕτως, ὦ φιλόσοφοι, τὴν αὐτάρκειαν  
ἀσπάζεσθε καὶ τῶν δείπνων τὰ εὐτελῆ, τί ἐνταῦθα  
παραγίνεσθε μὴδὲ κληθέντες; ἢ ὥς εἰς ἀσώτιον μαγει-  
ρικὰ σκεύη καταλέγειν μαθησόμενοι; ἢ ὥς τὸν Διο-  
γένους Κεφαλίωνα ἀποστοματιοῦντες; κατὰ γὰρ τὸν  
Σοφοκλέους Κηδαλίωνα ἐστε

μαστιγῖαι, κέντρωνες, ἀλλοτριοφάγοι.

ὅτι δ' ὑμεῖς οἱ φιλόσοφοι περὶ τὰ δείπνα ἀεὶ τὸν νοῦν  
b ἔχετε, δέον ὑμᾶς ἐπιφαγεῖν αἰτῆσαι | ἢ ἐπεσθίειν τι  
τῶν κυνικῶν βρωμάτων (οὐδὲ γὰρ

χαριτογλωσσεῖν ἡμᾶς θέμις),

δῆλον ἐξ ὧν καὶ Ἀλεξίς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Λίνῳ  
ἱστορεῖ. ὑποτίθεται δὲ τὸν Ἡρακλέα παρὰ τῷ Λίνῳ  
παιδευόμενον καὶ κελευσθέντα ἀπὸ βιβλίων πολλῶν  
παρακειμένων λαβόντα ἐντυχεῖν. ἐκεῖνος δ' ὀψαρτυτι-  
κὸν λαβὼν βιβλίον ἐν χεροῖν περισπoudάστως ἐκρά-  
τει. λέγει δὲ οὕτως ὁ Λίνος:

<sup>25</sup> φορῆσαι καὶ A: ἐφόρει tantum CE

<sup>212</sup> Cf. D.L. 6.80; no fragments of the work survive.

<sup>213</sup> Or "some dogs' food."

<sup>214</sup> Cf. 4.169b.

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20, *FHG* iv.503) records that Diodorus had a thick beard, adopted an inexpensive cloak, and wore his hair long, and introduced this way of life as a sort of affectation, since the Pythagoreans before him wore clean clothes, bathed, anointed themselves with oil, and wore their hair in the normal style. But if you, my philosophers, are in fact so eager for mere sufficiency and inexpensive dinners, why are you here uninvited? Is it because you're visiting a spend-thrift's house (*asōtion*) to learn to make a list of cooking utensils? Or to recite Diogenes' *Cephalion*?<sup>212</sup> Because you are, to quote Sophocles' *Cedalion* (fr. 329),

fit to be whipped or tortured, eaters of other people's food.

That you philosophers always have your minds on dinner parties, when you should be asking for some Cynics' food<sup>213</sup> to consume (*epiphagein*) or to go on consuming (*epesthiein*)<sup>214</sup>—for it is not (adesp. tr. fr. \*92a)

right that we speak kindly (*charitoglōssein*)—

is clear from what Alexis records in his play entitled *Linus* (fr. 140).<sup>215</sup> The gist of it is that Heracles was being educated in Linus' house and was ordered to pick up one of the many books lying beside him and read it; and he picked up a cookbook and was holding it in his hands with great enthusiasm. Linus says the following:

<sup>215</sup> Linus was a mythical singer who taught Heracles to play the lyre. When he tried to punish his student, Heracles killed him ([Apollod.] *Bib.* 2.4.9). Magnus' claim that Alexis asserts in vv. 10–12 that philosophers concern themselves more with fine food than with anything else ignores the obvious irony of the remark.

(Λι.) βιβλίον

c ἐντεῦθεν ὃ τι βούλει προσελθὼν γὰρ λαβέ, |  
ἔπειτ' ἀναγνώσει—(Ηρ.) πάνυ γε. (Λι.)

διασκοπῶν

ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων ἀτρέμα τε καὶ σχολῇ.  
Ὅρφευς ἔνεστιν, Ἑσίοδος, τραγωδίαί,  
Χοιρίλος, Ὅμηρος, † Ἐπίχαρμος, συγγράμματα  
παντοδαπά. δηλώσεις γὰρ οὕτω τὴν φύσιν  
ἐπὶ τί μάλισθ' ὥρμηκε. (Ηρ.) τουτὶ λαμβάνω.  
(Λι.) δεῖξον τί ἐστι πρῶτον. (Ηρ.) ὀψαρτυσία,  
ὥς φησι τοῦπίγραμμα. (Λι.) φιλόσοφός τις εἶ,

d εὐδηλον, ὃς παρὲς τοσαῦτα γράμματα |  
Σίμου τέχνην ἔλαβες. (Ηρ.) ὁ Σῖμος δ' ἐστὶ τίς;  
(Λι.) μάλ' εὐφυνῆς ἄνθρωπος. ἐπὶ τραγωδίαν  
ὥρμηκε νῦν καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑποκριτῶν πολὺ  
κράτιστός ἐστιν ὀψοποιός, ὡς δοκεῖ  
τοῖς χρωμένοις, τῶν δ' ὀψοποιῶν ὑποκριτῆς

\* \* \*

(Λι.) βούλιμός ἐσθ' ἄνθρωπος. (Ηρ.) ὃ τι βούλει  
λέγε·

πεινῶ γάρ, εὖ τοῦτ' ἴσθι.

Ταῦτα τοῦ Μάγνου ἐξῆς καταδραμόντος ἀποβλέ-  
ψας ὁ Κύνουλκος εἰς τοὺς παρόντας τῶν φιλοσόφων  
e ἔφη· |

<sup>216</sup> Not the early Athenian tragic poet (TrGF 2), since the tragedians are referred to collectively at the end of v. 5, but the Samian epic poet.



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(Linus) Yes, go over  
and pick any papyrus roll you like out of there  
and then read it— (Heracles) Absolutely! (Linus)  
examining them  
quietly, and at your leisure, on the basis of the labels.  
Orpheus is in there, Hesiod, tragedies,  
Choerilus,<sup>216</sup> Homer, † Epicharmus, prose treatises  
of every type. This way you'll show me  
what subject you're naturally inclined to. (Heracles)  
I'm picking this one!  
(Linus) First show me what it is. (Heracles) It's a  
cookbook,  
according to the label. (Linus) It's obvious that you're  
quite  
a philosopher, since you passed by works like these  
and  
chose Simus'<sup>217</sup> trade. (Heracles) Who's Simus?  
(Linus) A very clever person. He's now turned  
to tragedy; and he's far and away the best cook  
among the actors, according to the people  
who employ him, and the best actor among the cooks.

\* \* \*

(Linus) This guy can't stop eating! (Heracles) Say  
what you want;  
I'm hungry, that's for sure!

After Magnus ran through these quotations in order,  
Cynulcus glanced at the philosophers present and said:

<sup>217</sup> Stephanis #2275; otherwise unknown.

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Did you see how this Thasian brine-sauce<sup>218</sup> barks?  
How well and quickly he got his revenge, with no  
delay!

But the blind man isn't likely to talk to a deaf one,

as Cratinus said in *Archilochuses* (fr. 6). For his innate  
gluttony and garrulousness (*hēdulogia*) make him forget  
the court where he is putting his lovely iambs on display,  
and he reads us his wild Thracian songs and his (adesp. tr.  
fr. 93)

badly-piped tunes and ill-coordinated cymbals.

And after these lovely displays of bad taste, he goes around  
from one house to the next, checking to see where a bril-  
liant dinner party is being prepared, and outdoing the  
famous Chaerephon of Athens,<sup>219</sup> about whom Alexis says  
in *The Fugitive* (fr. 259):

Chaerephon is always coming up with some new  
trick and getting his dinners without contributing any  
money.

For the minute the sun comes up, he goes and stands  
in the place where the cooks rent their  
earthenware. If he sees something being rented  
for a feast, he asks the cook  
who the host is; and if he finds the door  
open, he's the first one in.

Just like our fine Magnus, this fellow does not hesitate to

is obscure; but the basic sense must be that the preceding attack  
has accomplished nothing, if only because of the stupidity of its  
intended audience. <sup>219</sup> See 4.134e n.

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travel outside the country to gratify his belly, as the same Alexis says in *Men Who Were Dying Together* (fr. 213):

Chaerephon went to Corinth for dinner  
uninvited. Now he's flying over the sea;  
that's how sweet it is to eat other people's food.

Theopompus as well said in *Odysseus* (fr. 35):<sup>220</sup>

The best remark Euripides made, and it isn't bad at  
all,  
is that the man who's really fortunate dines on other  
people's food.

Everyone laughed at these remarks, but Ulpian said:  
Where did these pleasure-loving language-butchers find  
the word *hēdulogia* ("garrulousness")<sup>221</sup>? Cynulcus an-  
swered him: In fact, you well-seasoned pig (= adesp. com.  
fr. \*108, unmetrical), the comic poet Phrynichus mentions  
the garrulous man (*hēdulogos*) in *Ephialtes* (fr. 3), in the  
following verses:

The most difficult job we have today is to protect  
ourselves from them.  
For they have a kind of sting in their fingers,<sup>222</sup>  
a hostile bloom of youth.  
They always speak pleasantly (*hēdulougousin*) to  
everyone, as they circulate through the  
marketplace.  
But when they're in their seats, they rip long  
scratches there into

<sup>222</sup> I.e. an extended middle finger or its ancient equivalent  
(perhaps the little finger).



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the people to whom they speak pleasantly  
(*hēdulougousin*), and they all put their heads  
together and laugh.

Aeschylus used the verb *charitoglōssein*<sup>223</sup> in *Prometheus Bound* (293–4):

You will know that these words are true, and that it is  
not  
in my nature to speak kindly (*charitoglōssein*) to no  
purpose.

And again Ulpian said: What, my friends, are the utensils  
used by cooks? For you referred to these as worthy of men-  
tion in your discussion of Arcadian dinners.<sup>224</sup> And where  
is the word *asōtion* (“spendthrift’s house”) attested? Be-  
cause I am aware that spendthrifts (*asōtoi*) are widely  
discussed. Alexis mentions one in *The Girl from Cnidus*  
(fr. 110):

In two years that damned Diodorus<sup>225</sup>  
turned the property he inherited from his father into  
a ball;<sup>226</sup>  
that’s how recklessly he ate it all up.

And he says in *Phaedrus* (fr. 248):

Slowly, by the Sun, you’re talking about doing it  
slowly!  
In five days little Epicharides<sup>227</sup>

<sup>223</sup> PAA 329550.

<sup>224</sup> I.e. that he then let roll away from him (thus Arnott)? The  
image is used again below.

<sup>227</sup> See 4.161b n.

σφαῖραν ἐπόησε τὴν πατρώαν οὐσίαν·  
οὕτω συνεστρόγγυλεν ἰταμῶς καὶ ταχύ.

καὶ Κτήσιππος δ' ὁ Χαβρίου υἱὸς εἰς τοσοῦτον ἦλθεν  
ἀσωτίας ὥς καὶ τοῦ μνήματος τοῦ πατρός, εἰς ὃ  
Ἀθηναῖοι χιλίας ἀνάλωσαν δραχμάς, τοὺς λίθους  
πωλῆσαι εἰς τὰς ἡδυνπαθείας. Δίφιλος γοῦν ἐν τοῖς  
f Ἐναγίζουσί φησι· |

εἰ μὴ συνήθης Φαιδίμῳ γ' ἐτύγχανεν  
ὁ Χαβρίου Κτήσιππος, εἰσηγησάμην  
νόμον < ἄν > τιν' οὐκ ἄχρηστον, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ,  
ὥστ' ἐπιτελεσθῆναί ποτ' αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς  
τὸ μνήμα, κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἓνα < . . . > λίθον  
ἀμαξιαῖον. καὶ σφόδρ' εὐτελὲς λέγω.

Τιμοκλῆς δ' ἐν Δημοσατύροις φησὶν·

166 οὐδ' ὁ Χαβρίου Κτήσιππος ἔτι τρεῖς κείρεται, ||  
ἐν ταῖς γυναιξὶ λαμπρός, οὐκ ἐν ἀνδράσιν.

καὶ Μένανδρος δ' ἐν Ὁργῇ περὶ αὐτοῦ τάδε λέγει·

καίτοι νέος ποτ' ἐγενόμην καὶ γὰρ, γύναι·  
ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐλούμην πεντάκις τῆς ἡμέρας  
τότ', ἀλλὰ νῦν· οὐδὲ χλανίδ' εἶχον, ἀλλὰ νῦν·

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<sup>228</sup> PAA 587475. Chabrias (PA 15086) was an important Athenian general who died in combat in 357/6 BCE, hence the use of public funds to construct his monument. Phaedimus (PA 13925) is otherwise unknown.

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turned the property he inherited from his father into  
a ball;  
that's how recklessly and rapidly he rolled it up.

Ctesippus the son of Chabrias<sup>228</sup> too became such a spend-thrift that he sold the stones of his father's tomb, on which the Athenians spent 1000 drachmas, to finance his high living. Diphilus, at any rate, says in *Men Who Offer Sacrifice To the Dead* (fr. 37):

If Ctesippus son of Chabrias didn't happen to be  
related to Phaedimus, I'd have proposed  
quite a useful law, I think,  
requiring that he complete  
his father's tomb, one massive stone . . .  
per year. And I mean very cheap . . .

Timocles says in *The People's Satyrs* (fr. 5):

And Ctesippus son of Chabrias doesn't get his hair  
cut three times a day anymore,  
a fellow who's distinguished among women but not  
among men.

And Menander says the following about him in *Wrath* (fr. 264):

And yet I too was once a young man, woman.  
But I didn't bathe five times a day  
back then, as I do now, or wear a fine wool robe, as I  
do now,

οὐδὲ μύρον εἶχον, ἀλλὰ νῦν· καὶ βάψομαι  
καὶ παρατιλοῦμαι, νῆ Δία, καὶ γενήσομαι  
b Κτήσιππος, οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, |  
καῖθ' ὥς ἐκεῖνος κατέδομαι καὶ τοὺς λίθους  
ἀπαξάπαντας, οὐ γὰρ οὖν τὴν γῆν μόνην.

τάχ' οὖν διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ταύτην ἀσωτίαν καὶ κιναι-  
δίαν τοῦνομα αὐτοῦ παρέλιπε Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ Περὶ  
Ἀτελειῶν. χρὴ δὲ τοὺς τὰ πατρῶα κατεδηδοκότας  
κατὰ τὸν Μενάνδρου Ναύκληρον οὕτως κολάζεσθαι.  
φησὶν γάρ·

ὦ φιλότατη Γῆ μήτερ, ὥς σεμνὸν σφόδρ' εἶ  
τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσι κτῆμα πολλοῦ τ' ἄξιον.  
c ὥς δῆτ' ἐχρήν, εἴ τις πατρώαν παραλαβὼν |  
γῆν καταφάγοι, πλεῖν τοῦτον ἤδη διὰ τέλους  
καὶ μηδ' ἐπιβαίνειν γῆς, ἔν' οὕτως ἦσθετο,  
οἶον παραλαβὼν ἀγαθὸν οὐκ ἐφείσατο.

Πυθοδήλου δέ τινος ἀσώτου μνημονεύει Ἀξιόνικος ἐν  
Τυρρηνῷ οὕτως·

ὁ Πυθόδηλος οὕτοσιν  
ὁ Βαλλίων προσέρχετ' ἐπικαλούμενος  
μεθύουσά τ' ἐξόπισθεν ἢ σοφωτάτη  
d Ἀποτυμπανισχὰς κατὰ πόδας πορεύεται. |

<sup>229</sup> To look younger and thus become appealing to adult men;  
cf. the reference to "sexual perversity" below.

<sup>230</sup> PAA 794095.

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or wear perfume, as I do now. I'm going to dye my  
hair  
and pluck my beard,<sup>229</sup> by Zeus, and rapidly  
turn into Ctesippus rather than a man.  
And then I'll consume every single one  
of my stones, as he did, and not just my land.

It was therefore perhaps on account of this enormous extravagance and sexual perversion that Demosthenes omitted his name in his *On Exemptions from Taxation* (Or. 20, = *Against Leptines*). Individuals who squander their inheritance should be punished in the way described in Menander's *The Shipowner* (fr. 247). For he says:

O dearest mother Earth, what a grand  
and valuable possession you are for anyone with some  
sense!

It ought, in fact, to be a rule that whoever squanders  
any land he inherits from his father has to sail the sea  
forever

and never set a foot on land, to make him understand  
what a wonderful thing he had—and threw away.

Axionicus mentions a profligate named Pythodelus<sup>230</sup> in *The Etruscan* (fr. 1), as follows:

Here comes  
Pythodelus, whose nickname's Big Dick;<sup>231</sup>  
and behind him, drunk, the clever  
Apotumpanischas<sup>232</sup> is dogging his steps.

<sup>231</sup> Greek *Balliōn*, from *ballion* ("phallus").

<sup>232</sup> *Apotumpanismos* was a form of execution (see 4.134b n.), and Ischas (literally "Dried Fig," i.e. "Sweetie") is attested as a prostitute's name.

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Anaxandrides mocks Polyeuctus<sup>233</sup> in *Tereus* (fr. 46) and says:

(A.) You'll be called "Bird."<sup>234</sup> (B.) Why, by Hestia?  
Because I gobbled up the property I inherited from  
my father,  
like the noble Polyeuctus? (A.) Not at all, but  
because  
you're a male who's been reduced to mincemeat by  
females.

Theopompus in Book X of his *History of Philip* (FGrH 115 F 100), the final portion of which, containing the discussion of the Athenian demagogues, is treated as spurious by some authorities, . . . claims that the demagogue Eubulus<sup>235</sup> was a spendthrift. He said specifically the following: He has outdone the people of Tarentum in profligacy and greed<sup>236</sup> to such an extent that, whereas the only matter in which they failed to exercise self-control was feasts, the Athenians have spent their revenues on mercenaries. And he says that the demagogue Callistratus son of Callicrates<sup>237</sup> was also a reckless hedonist, but was nonetheless careful about public business. In his report on the people of Tarentum in Book LII of his *Histories* (FGrH 115 F 233) he writes the following: The city of Tarentum

<sup>235</sup> PAA 428495; he was prominent in the late 350s and 340s BCE. Theopompus' Book X appears to have treated events in 352.

<sup>236</sup> For the Tarentine love of feasting, drinking, and luxury generally, cf. 4.156a; 12.522d–f.

<sup>237</sup> PAA 561575. Callistratus was executed sometime before 355 BCE and was thus one of Eubulus' immediate predecessors rather than his contemporary.

f τίνων σχεδὸν | καθ' ἑκαστον μῆνα βουθυτεῖ καὶ δημο-  
σίας ἐστιάσεις ποιεῖται. τὸ δὲ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν πλῆθος  
αἰεὶ περὶ συνουσίας καὶ πότους ἐστί. λέγουσι δὲ καί  
τινα τοιοῦτον λόγον οἱ Ταραντῖνοι, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους  
ἀνθρώπους διὰ τὸ φιλοπονεῖσθαι καὶ περὶ τὰς ἐργα-  
σίας διατρίβειν παρασκευάζεσθαι ζῆν, αὐτοὺς δὲ διὰ  
τὰς συνουσίας καὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς οὐ μέλλειν, ἀλλ' ἤδη  
βιώναί.

167 Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀσωτίας καὶ τοῦ βίου Φιλίππου καὶ  
τῶν ἐταίρων αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῇ ||  
τῶν Ἱστοριῶν ὁ Θεόπομπος τάδε γράφει. Φίλιππος  
ἐπεὶ ἐγκρατὴς πολλῶν ἐγένετο χρημάτων οὐκ ἀνάλω-  
σεν αὐτὰ ταχέως, ἀλλ' ἐξέβαλε καὶ ἔρριψε, πάντων  
ἀνθρώπων κάκιστος ὢν οἰκονόμος οὐ μόνον αὐτός,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτόν· ἀπλῶς γὰρ οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν  
ἠπίστατο ζῆν ὀρθῶς οὐδὲ σωφρόνως οἰκεῖν οἰκίαν. τοῦ  
δ' αὐτὸς αἴτιος ἦν ἄπληστος καὶ πολυτελὴς ὢν, προ-  
χείρως ἅπαντα ποιῶν καὶ κτώμενος καὶ διδούς· στρα-  
b τιώτης γὰρ ὢν λογίζεσθαι τὰ προσιόντα καὶ | τὰ ναλι-  
σκόμενα δι' ἀσχολίαν οὐκ ἠδύνατο. ἔπειτα δ' οἱ  
ἐταῖροι αὐτοῦ ἐκ πολλῶν τόπων ἦσαν συνερρηκότες·  
οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς χώρας, οἱ δὲ ἐκ Θετταλίας, οἱ  
δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος, οὐκ ἀριστίνδην ἐξει-  
λεγμένοι, ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἦν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἢ τοῖς  
βαρβάροις λάσταυρος ἢ βδελυρὸς ἢ θρασὺς τὸν  
τρόπον, οὗτοι σχεδὸν ἅπαντες εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἀθροι-  
σθέντες ἐταῖροι Φιλίππου προσηγορεύοντο. εἰ δὲ καὶ  
μὴ τοιοῦτός τις <ὢν> ἐληλύθει, ὑπὸ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς



διαίτης τῆς Μακεδονικῆς ταχέως ἐκείνοις ὅμοιος ἐγί-  
 c νετο. τὰ μὲν γὰρ οἱ | πόλεμοι καὶ αἱ στρατεῖαι, <τὰ δὲ>  
 καὶ αἱ πολυτέλειαι θρασεῖς αὐτοὺς εἶναι προετρέποντο  
 καὶ ζῆν μὴ κοσμίως, ἀλλ' ἀσώτως καὶ τοῖς λησταῖς  
 παραπλησίως. Δοῦρις δ' ἐν ἐβδόμῳ Μακεδονικῶν περὶ  
 Πασικύπρου λέγων τοῦ ἐν Κύπρῳ βασιλέως ὅτι ἄσω-  
 τος ἦν γράφει καὶ τάδε· Ἀλέξανδρος μετὰ τὴν Τύρου  
 πολιορκίαν Πυνταγόραν ἀποστέλλων ἄλλας τε δω-  
 ρεὰς ἔδωκε καὶ χωρίον ὃ ἡτήσατο. πρότερον δὲ τοῦτο  
 Πασίκυπρος βασιλεύων ἀπέδοτο δι' ἀσωτίαν πεντή-  
 d κοντα ταλάντων Πυμιάτωνι<sup>27</sup> | τῷ Κιτιεῖ, ἅμα τὸ  
 χωρίον καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν· καὶ λαβὼν τὰ χρή-  
 ματα κατεγήρασεν ἐν Ἀμαθοῦντι. τοιοῦτος ἐγένετο  
 καὶ Αἰθίοψ ὁ Κορίνθιος, ὥς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Σκή-  
 ψιος, οὗ μνημονεύει Ἀρχίλοχος· ὑπὸ φιληδονίας γὰρ  
 καὶ ἀκρασίας καὶ οὗτος μετ' Ἀρχίου πλέων εἰς Σικε-  
 λίαν ὅτ' ἔμελλεν κτίζειν Συρακούσας τῷ ἑαυτοῦ συσ-  
 σίτῳ μελιτούττης ἀπέδοτο τὸν κλῆρον ὃν ἐν Συρα-  
 κούσαις λαχὼν ἔμελλεν ἔξειν. εἰς τοσοῦτον δ' ἀσωτίας  
 e ἐληλύθει καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως |  
 ἀπόγονος, ὥς φησιν Ἡγήσανδρος, ὥστε Ἀρισταγό-  
 ραν μὲν ἔχειν τὴν Κορινθίαν ἐρωμένην, ζῆν δὲ πολυ-  
 τελῶς. ἀνακαλεσαμένων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν  
 καὶ κελευόντων βέλτιον ζῆν, “ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν,” εἶπεν,  
 “ἐλευθερίως ζῶ. καὶ γὰρ ἑταίραν ἔχω τὴν καλλίστην

<sup>27</sup> πυμιάτωνι ACE: Πυγμαλίωνι Kaibel (cf. D.S. 19.79.4)

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way they behaved soon made him resemble them. For wars and military campaigns, on the one hand, and an extravagant lifestyle, on the other, encouraged them to be arrogant and to live not in an orderly way but like spend-thrifts and bandits. Duris, when he describes the Cyprian king Pasicyprus as profligate in Book VII of his *History of Macedon* (FGrH 76 F 4), writes the following: When Alexander dismissed Pnytagoras<sup>239</sup> after the siege of Tyre, he gave him gifts, including a fortified place he asked for. Previous to this, when Pasicyprus was king, his profligacy forced him to sell the place to Pymiaton of Citium for 50 talents, and he sold his kingship along with it. After he got the money, he spent his old age in Amathus. Aethiops of Corinth, whom Archilochus (fr. 293 West<sup>2</sup>) mentions, was also this sort of person, according to Demetrius of Scepsis (fr. 73 Gaede). For as a result of his hedonistic lack of self-control, as he was sailing to Sicily along with Archias, who was preparing to found the city of Syracuse,<sup>240</sup> he sold his mess-mate the section of land in Syracuse he had drawn by lot and was going to own for a honey cake. Demetrius the descendant of Demetrius of Phaleron<sup>241</sup> sank so far into profligacy, according to Hegesander (fr. 8, FHG iv.415), that he took Aristagora of Corinth as his lover and lived extravagantly. When the Areopagites summoned him and told him to live a better life, he said: "But at the moment I'm living the life of a free man. I've got an extremely beau-

<sup>239</sup> Pnytagoras (Berve i #642) was the king of the city of Salamis in Cyprus; the siege of Tyre took place in 332 BCE. Cf. D.S. 19.79.4 (where Pymiaton's name has, however, been garbled).

<sup>240</sup> c.734 BCE. <sup>241</sup> PAA 312160 (mid- to late-3rd century); he was the dictator's grandson.

- καὶ ἀδικῶ οὐδένα καὶ πίνω Χίον οἶνον καὶ τ᾽ ἄλλ'  
 ἀρκούντως παρασκευάζομαι, τῶν ἰδίων μου προσόδων  
 εἰς ταῦτα ἐκποιουσῶν, οὐ καθάπερ ὑμῶν ἔνιοι δεκαζό-  
 f μενος ζῶ καὶ μοιχεύων.” καὶ τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα | πρατ-  
 τόντων καὶ ἐπ’ ὀνόματός τινος κατέλεξε. ταῦτα δ’  
 ἀκούσας Ἀντίγονος ὁ βασιλεὺς θεσμοθέτην αὐτὸν  
 κατέστησεν. τοῖς δὲ Παναθηναίοις ἵππαρχος ὢν ἱκρί-  
 ον ἔστησε πρὸς τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς Ἀρισταγόρα μετεωρότε-  
 ρον τῶν Ἑρμῶν, Ἐλευσίνι τε μυστηρίων ὄντων ἔθη-  
 κεν αὐτῇ θρόνον παρὰ τὸ ἀνάκτορον, οἰμώξεσθαι  
 168 φήσας τοὺς κωλύσοντας. || ὅτι δὲ τοὺς ἀσώτους καὶ  
 τοὺς μὴ ἔκ τινος περιουσίας ζῶντας τὸ παλαιὸν ἀνε-  
 καλοῦντο οἱ Ἀρεοπαγῖται καὶ ἐκόλαζον, ἱστόρησαν  
 Φανόδημος καὶ Φιλόχορος ἄλλοι τε πλείους. Μενέδη-  
 μον γοῦν καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδην τοὺς φιλοσόφους νέους  
 ὄντας καὶ πενομένους μεταπεμφάμενοι ἠρώτησαν πῶς  
 ὅλας τὰς ἡμέρας τοῖς φιλοσόφοις συσχολάζοντες,  
 κεκτημένοι δὲ μηδέν, εὐεκτοῦσιν οὕτω τοῖς σώμασι  
 καὶ οἱ ἐκέλευσαν μεταπεμφθῆναί τινα τῶν μυλωθρῶν.  
 b ἐλθόντος δ’ ἐκείνου | καὶ εἰπόντος ὅτι νυκτὸς ἐκάστης  
 κατιόντες εἰς τὸν μυλῶνα καὶ ἀλοῦντες δύο δραχμὰς  
 ἀμφότεροι λαμβάνουσι, θαυμάσαντες οἱ Ἀρεοπαγῖται  
 διακοσίαις δραχμαῖς ἐτίμησαν αὐτούς. καὶ Δημόκρι-

<sup>242</sup> For Chian wine, see 1.28d–f.

<sup>243</sup> Antigonus Gonatas (reigned c.277/6–239 BCE).

<sup>244</sup> An Athenian magistrate charged with supervising the lawcourts; see [Arist.] *Ath.* 3.4 with Rhodes *ad loc.*

<sup>245</sup> Located along the Panathenaic Way where it enters the

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tiful lover, I do no one any wrong, and I drink Chian wine<sup>242</sup> and arrange everything else in the way that suits me; and my personal income makes this possible, and I don't live on bribes and illicit sexual affairs, as some of you do." And he listed some of those who behaved this way by name. When King Antigonos<sup>243</sup> heard this, he appointed him as a *thesmothetēs*.<sup>244</sup> When Demetrius was serving as a cavalry commander, he set up a spectator's stand for Aristagora next to and higher than the Herms<sup>245</sup>; and when the Mysteries were being celebrated in Eleusis, he put a chair next to the temple for her and told the people who wanted to keep him from doing this to go to hell. That in the old days the Areopagus Council<sup>246</sup> used to summon spendthrifts and others with no visible means of support and punish them is recorded by Phanodemus (*FGrH* 325 F 10), Philochorus (*FGrH* 328 F 196), and many others. When the philosophers Menedemus and Asclepiades,<sup>247</sup> for example, were impoverished young men, the Areopagites summoned them and asked how it was, given that they spent their days lounging about with the philosophers and had no property, that they were in such good physical shape. They asked for a certain miller to be summoned. When he came, he reported that they went to his mill every night and threshed grain, and were paid two drachmas apiece; the Areopagites were astonished and gave them

northwest corner of the Agora near the Royal Stoa and the Stoa Poicile.

<sup>246</sup> The highest legal and political authority in Athens before Ephialtes' reforms in the late 460s BCE.

<sup>247</sup> I.e. Menedemus of Eretria (c.339–c.265 BCE) and Asclepiades of Phlius (d. 278); for their friendship, cf. D.L. 2.126, 137.

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200 drachmas as a reward. So too when the people of Abdera tried Democritus (68 B 0c D–K) for having squandered his inheritance, he read them his *Great Diakosmos* and the sections about what goes on in Hades, and said that this was what the money had been spent on, and he was acquitted. People who are not profligate in this way,<sup>248</sup> as Amphis (fr. 43) puts it, merely

drink all day every day,

rattle their brains with unmixed wine, have three heads like a miniature statue of Artemis, as Diphilus (fr. 123) puts it, and are enemies of their own property, as Satyrus says in his *On Character Types* (fr. 27 Schorn), because they trample their own fields; pillage their own house; sell their own possessions as if they were plunder; consider not what they have spent but what they are going to spend, and not what is going to be left over but what is not going to be left over; use up in advance while they are still young the money that ought to support them in their old age; and take pleasure in a courtesan (*hetaira*) rather than in their companions (*hetairoi*), and in the wine rather than the people they drink it with. Agatharchides of Cnidus says in Book XXVIII of his *History of Europe* (FGrH 86 F 12): When Gnosippus<sup>249</sup> became a spendthrift in Sparta, the ephors prevented him from spending time with the young men. According to Posidonius in Book XLIX of his *Histories* (FGrH 87 F 27 = fr. 78 Edelstein–Kidd), the Romans remember a certain Apicius as having outdone everyone in the world in his profligacy. This is the Apicius who was also responsible for the exile of Rutilius,<sup>250</sup> who published his

<sup>250</sup> In 92 BCE. For Rutilius, see also 6.274c–e.

τῶν ὧτων τὰς πύλας. ὥστε λέγετε· ἐπιζητῶ γὰρ καὶ  
<ὅπερ ὁ> Μάγνος εἶρηκε τὸ ἐπесθίειν καὶ τὸ ἐπι-  
φαγεῖν.

Καὶ ὁ Αἰμιλιανὸς ἔφη· τὸ μὲν ἀσώτιον ἔχεις παρὰ  
b Στράττιδι ἐν Χρυσίππῳ λέγοντι οὕτως· |

εἰ μὴδὲ χέσαι γ' αὐτῷ σχολή γενήσεται,  
μὴδ' εἰς ἀσωτεῖ τραπέσθαι, μὴδ' ἐὰν  
αὐτῷ ξυναντᾷ τις, λαλήσαι μὴδενί.

μαγειρικὰ δὲ σκεύη καταριθμεῖται Ἀνάξιππος ἐν Κι-  
θαρῳδῷ οὕτως·

ζωμήρυσιν φέρ', οἷσ' ὀβελίσκους δώδεκα,  
κρεάγραν, θυνείαν, τυρόκνηστιν παιδικήν,  
στελεόν, σκαφίδας τρεῖς, δορίδα, κοπίδας  
τέτταρας.

c οὐ μὴ πρότερον οἷσεις, θεοῖσιν ἐχθρὲ σύ, |  
τὸ λεβήτιον, τὰκ τοῦ λίτρου· πάλιν ὑστερεῖς;  
καὶ τὴν κύβηλιν τὴν ἀγωνιστηρίαν.

τὴν χύτραν δ' Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Σκηνὰς Καταλαμ-  
βανούσαις κακκάβην εἶρηκεν οὕτως·

τὴν κακκάβην γὰρ κᾶε τοῦ διδασκάλου.

κᾶν Δαιταλεύσι·

< . . . > κᾶγειν ἐκεῖθεν κακκάβην.



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because I would like further information about the words *epesthiein* and *epiphagein* that Magnus used.<sup>256</sup>

Aemilianus said: You have the word *asōtion* ("spend-thrift's house")<sup>257</sup> in Strattis' *Chrysippus* (fr. 54), where he says the following:

if he's not going to have the leisure to shit,  
or to enter a spendthrift's house, or to  
speak to anyone who bumps into him.

Anaxippus offers an enumeration of cooks' utensils in *The Citharode* (fr. 6), as follows:

Bring me a soup-ladle! And fetch 12 skewers,  
a meat-hook, a mortar, a small cheese-grater,  
an ax-handle<sup>258</sup>, three bowls, a flaying-knife, and four  
cleavers!

Fetch the little cauldron, the one from the spice-  
market,

first, you bastard! Are you running behind again?  
And the contest-ax!<sup>259</sup>

Aristophanes refers to a cookpot as a *kakkabē* in *Women Occupying Tents* (fr. 495), as follows:

for he burned his teacher's *kakkabē*.

Also in *Banqueters* (fr. 224):

and to be bringing a *kakkabē* from there.

<sup>256</sup> At 4.164b.      <sup>257</sup> Like what follows, a response to the questions posed by Ulpian at 4.165d.

<sup>258</sup> Perhaps to be used as a rolling pin.

<sup>259</sup> Obscure.



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Antiphanes in *The Man Who Loved Thebes* (fr. 216.1–4):<sup>260</sup>

We've got everything; for the Boeotian eel,  
whose name is the same as the woman's inside,  
is mixed up inside the hollow depths of a *kakkabē*  
and is getting hot, swelling up, stewing, and  
spluttering.

Antiphanes uses the word *batanion* ("casserole-dish") in *Euthydicus* (fr. 95):

then an octopus cut into pieces  
and stewed in *batania*.

Alexis in *Asclepiocleides* (fr. 24):

I myself learned to cook  
so beautifully in Sicily that  
I sometimes make the dinner-guests gnaw on  
the *batania* because they like the food so much.

But Antiphanes uses *patanion*, with a *pi*, in *The Marriage* (fr. 71):

*patania*, a beet, silphium, cookpots, lamps,  
coriander, onions, salt, oil, a bowl.

Philetaerus in *Oenopion* (fr. 14, encompassing both quotations):

Let this cook named Pataniōn come over here!

And again:

<sup>260</sup> Most of 22 additional lines of the fragment are preserved at 14.622f–3c.

πλείους Στρατονίκου τοὺς μαθητάς μοι δοκεῖ  
ἔξειν Πατανίων.

ἐν δὲ Παρασίτῳ ὁ Ἀντιφάνης καὶ τάδε εἶρηκεν·

(A.) ἄλλος ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέγας  
ἤξει τις ἰσοτράπεζος εὐγενής— (B.) τίνα  
f λέγεις; (A.) Καρύστου θρέμμα, γηγενής, ζέων— |  
(B.) εἴτ' οὐκ ἂν εἴποις; ὕπαγε. (A.) κάκκαβον  
λέγω.  
σὺ δ' ἴσως ἂν εἴποις λοπάδ'. (B.) ἐμοὶ δὲ  
τοῦνομα  
οἶε διαφέρειν, εἴτε κάκκαβόν τινες  
χαίρουσιν ὀνομάζοντες εἴτε σίττυβον;  
πλὴν ὅτι λέγεις ἀγγεῖον οἶδα.

Εὐβουλος δ' ἐν Ἰωνί καὶ βατάνια καὶ πατάνια λέγει  
ἐν τούτοις·

170 τρύβλια δὲ καὶ βατάνια καὶ κακκάβια καὶ  
λοπάδια καὶ πατάνια πυκινὰ † ταρβα † καὶ  
οὐδ' ἂν λέγων λέξαιμι. ||

Ἡδυσμάτων δὲ κατάλογον Ἀλεξίς ἐποιήσατο ἐν  
Λέβητι οὕτως·

(A.) μὴ προφάσεις ἐνταῦθά μοι, μηδ' "οὐκ  
ἔχω".  
(B.) ἀλλὰ λέγ' ὅτου δεῖ· λήψομαι γὰρ πάντ' ἐγώ.

<sup>261</sup> See 4.163f n.

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I think Pataniōn's going to have more students  
than Stratonicus!<sup>261</sup>

But in *The Parasite* Antiphanes (fr. 180) says the following:

(A.) After this will come another large  
one, as big as the table, a noble—(B.) What  
are you talking about? (A.) child of Carystus, born of  
the earth, boiling—

(B.) Tell me! Spit it out! (A.) I'm referring to a  
*kakkabos*;

you might perhaps refer to it as a *lopas* ("casserole-  
dish"). (B.) Do you think the name  
makes any difference to me, if some people like  
to call it a *kakkabos*, or a *sittubos*<sup>262</sup>?

But I understand you're referring to a vessel.

Eubulus uses both *batania* and *patania* in *Ion* (fr. 37), in  
the following lines:

bowls and *batania* and *kakkabia* and  
*lopadia*<sup>263</sup> and *patania*, one after another [corrupt]  
and

I couldn't name them if I tried.

Alexis produced a list of spices in *The Cauldron* (fr.  
132), as follows:

(A.) Don't offer me any excuses here, and no "I  
don't have it"!

(B.) Tell me what you need; I'll buy everything.

<sup>262</sup> An otherwise unattested word, probably invented by the  
poet.

<sup>263</sup> A diminutive of *lopas*; cf. Antiph. fr. 180.5 (above).

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ὄξει σιραίῳ χρωμάτισας καὶ σιλφίῳ  
 πυκνῶ πατάξας.

d ἐπεσθίειν εἴρηκε Τηλεκλείδης | Πρυτάνεσιν οὕτως·  
 τυρίον ἐπεσθίοντα.

ἐπιφαγεῖν δ' Εὐπολὶς Ταξιάρχους .

ἐπιφαγεῖν μηδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ κρόμμνον  
λέποντα καὶ τρεῖς ἀλμάδας.

καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης Πλούτῳ.

πρὸ τοῦ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς πενίας ἅπαντ' ἐπήσθιον<sup>31</sup>.

τῶν δὲ μαγείρων διάφοροί τινες ἦσαν οἱ καλούμενοι  
τραπεζοποιοί. εἰς ὅτι δὲ οὗτοι προσελαμβάνοντο σα-  
φῶς παρίστησιν Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Μετοίκῳ·

προσέλαβον ἐλθὼν τουτονὶ  
 e τραπεζοποιόν, ὃς πλυνεῖ σκεύη, λύχνους |  
 ἐτοιμάσει, σπονδὰς ποήσει, τ᾽ ἄλλ' ὅσα  
 τούτῳ προσήκει.

ζητητέον δὲ εἰ καὶ ὁ τραπέζοκóμος ὁ αὐτός ἐστι τῷ  
τραπέζοποιῳ. Ἰόβας γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν ταῖς Ὀμοι-

<sup>31</sup> ἀπανθ' ὑπήσθιεν Ar.<sup>R</sup>: ἀπαντα γ' ἦσθιεν Ar.<sup>V</sup>

<sup>265</sup> In the fragments of Teleclides and Eupolis the prefix *ep-* appears to carry the sense “in addition” (sc. to the bread or other starch consumed as the main course), although it is not clear that

ότησι τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναί φησι <τὸν> τραπεζοκόμον καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καλούμενον στρούκτωρα, παρατιθέμενος ἐκ δράματος Ἀλεξάνδρου ᾧ ἐπιγραφὴ Πότος·

εἰς αὔριόν με δεῖ λαβεῖν ἀνλητρίδα.  
f τραπεζοποιόν, δημιουργὸν λήψομαι. |  
ἐπὶ τοῦτ' ἀπέστειλ' ἐξ ἀγροῦ μ' ὁ δεσπότης.

ἐκάλουν δὲ τραπεζοποιὸν τὸν τραπεζῶν ἐπιμελητὴν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐκοσμίας. Φιλήμων Παρεισιόντι·

περὶ τοῦπτάνιον οὐ γίγνεθ' ἡ σκευωρία·  
τραπεζοποιός ἐστ' ἐπὶ τοῦ διακονεῖν.

ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ ἐπιτραπεζώματα τὰ ἐπιτιθέμενα τῇ  
171 τραπέζῃ βρώματα. Πλάτων Μενελάω· ||

ὥς ὀλίγα λοιπὰ τῶν ἐπιτραπεζωμάτων;

ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ ἀγοραστήν τὸν τὰ ὄψα ὠνούμενον, νῦν δ' ὀψωνάτωρα, ὡς Ξενοφῶν ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἀπομνημονευμάτων οὕτωςι λέγων· διάκονον δ' ἂν καὶ ἀγοραστήν τὸν τοιοῦτον ἐθέλοιμεν προῖκα λαβεῖν; παρὰ δὲ Μενάνδρῳ ἐστὶ κοινότερον ἐν Φανίῳ·

φειδωλὸς ἦν καὶ μέτριος ἀγοραστής.

ὀψώνην δ' εἴρηκεν Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ταγηνισταῖς διὰ  
b τούτων· |

267 Latin *structor*. 268 Two additional verses of the same fragment are given at 14.641b.

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that the *trapezokomos* is identical with what the Romans call a *strouktōr*<sup>267</sup>, and he cites from the play by Alexander entitled *The Drinking Bout* (fr. 3):

Tomorrow I have to hire a pipe-girl.  
I'll hire a *trapezopoios*, one who works free-lance;  
this is what my master sent me from the country for.

They referred to the man who took care of the tables and organized everything else as the *trapezopoios*. Philemon in *The Man Who Tried To Sneak In* (fr. 64):

Your authority doesn't extend to the kitchen;  
a *trapezopoios* is in charge of the serving.

They also used the word *epitrapezōmata* for the food put on the table (*epi-* . . . *tēi trapezēi*). Plato in *Menelaus* (fr. 76.2):<sup>268</sup>

How is it there's so little left of the *epitrapezōmata*?

And they referred to the man who bought the food (*opsa*), for whom the modern term is the *opsōnatōr*<sup>269</sup>, as an *agorastēs* ("marketer, buyer"), as Xenophon shows in Book II of the *Memorabilia* (1.5.2), where he says the following: Would we be willing to accept a man like this as a servant or an *agorastēs*, even as a gift? The word appears in a more general sense in Menander's *Phanion* (fr. 390):

He was a thrifty, moderate shopper (*agorastēs*).

Aristophanes uses the word *opsōnēs* ("opson-man," i.e. "opson-buyer") in *Frying-Pan Men* (fr. 517), as follows:

<sup>269</sup> Latin *obsonator*.



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since the *opsōnēs* seems  
to be delaying our dinner.

Cratinus used the word *paropsōnein* (“to buy extra *opson*”) in *Cleoboulinas* (fr. 99), as follows . . . <sup>270</sup> Alexis uses *paragorazein* (“to do extra shopping”) in *Drōpides* (fr. 62). According to Pamphilus (fr. III Schmidt), the men who summon guests to the King’s table are referred to as *eileatroi*, from *eleon* (“cook’s table”).<sup>271</sup> But Artemidorus calls them *deipnoklētores* (“dinner-callers”).<sup>272</sup> And they used to refer, he says, to the men who tasted his food in advance (*hoi progeustai*) as *edeatroi*<sup>273</sup>, because they ate before the Kings did, to ensure their safety; but today the *edeatros* has become the supervisor of the dinner service generally. The office was a distinguished and honorable one. Chares, for example, says in Book III of his *Histories* (FGrH 125 F 1) that Ptolemy Soter<sup>274</sup> was appointed as Alexander’s *edeatros*. But perhaps the Greeks in those days called the individual to whom the Romans refer today as a *progeustēs*<sup>275</sup> a *protenthēs*, as Aristophanes does in the first *Clouds* (1196–1200),<sup>276</sup> in the following lines:

(Strepsiades) Then why don’t the magistrates accept  
the sureties  
on New Moon Day, but on the Old-and-New Day<sup>277</sup>?  
(Pheidippides) I think the same thing happens to  
them as to the food-inspectors (*protenthai*)—

<sup>274</sup> Reigned 323–283 BCE, but originally one of Alexander’s generals (Berve i #668).

<sup>275</sup> The word (used above) is Greek.

<sup>276</sup> Actually from the second, revised version of the play.

<sup>277</sup> I.e. the final day of the preceding month, as opposed to the first day of the month (New Moon Day).



d ἔν' ὥς τάχιστα τὰ πρυτανεῖ' ὑφελοίατο, |  
διὰ τοῦτο προυτένθουσιν ἡμέρα μιᾷ.

μνημονεύει αὐτῶν καὶ Φερεκράτης ἐν Ἀγρίοις·

μὴ θαυμάσης·  
τῶν γὰρ προτενθῶν ἐσμεν. ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶσθα σύ.

καὶ Φιλύλλιος ἐν Ἡρακλεῖ·

βούλεσθε δῆτ' ἐγὼ φράσω τίς εἰμ' ἐγώ;  
ἢ τῶν προτενθῶν Δορπία καλουμένη.

εὐρίσκω δὲ καὶ ψήφισμα ἐπὶ Κηφισοδώρου ἄρχοντος  
Ἀθήνησι γενόμενον, ἐν ᾧ ὥσπερ τι σύστημα οἱ προ-  
e τένθαι εἰσὶ, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ παράσιτοι | ὀνομαζόμενοι,  
ἔχον οὕτως· Φῶκος εἶπεν· ὅπως ἂν ἡ βουλὴ ἄγῃ τὰ  
Ἀπατούρια μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων κατὰ τὰ πά-  
τρια, ἐψηφίσθαι τῇ βουλῇ ἀφείσθαι τοὺς βουλευτὰς  
τὰς ἡμέρας ἄσπερ καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι ἀρχαὶ αἱ ἀφεται ἀπὸ  
τῆς ἡμέρας ἧς οἱ προτένθαι ἄγουσι πέντε ἡμέρας. ὅτι  
δ' εἶχον οἱ ἀρχαῖοι καὶ τοὺς προγεύστας καλουμένους  
Ξενοφῶν ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ἰέρωνι ἢ Τυραννικῷ  
φησιν· ὁ τύραννος οὐδὲ σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς πιστεύων  
f διάγει, ἀλλὰ | καὶ τούτων ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπάρχεσθαι θεοῖς

<sup>278</sup> Dorpia (personified here, and probably the prologue speaker) was the first day of the Apatouria festival, which included public feasting.

<sup>279</sup> Probably 366/5 BCE, although another man named Cephisodorus was eponymous archon in 323/2. The Phocus who pro-

## BOOK IV

wants to have a taste of these items, out of suspicion that they may eat or drink something harmful in them. Anaxilas says in *Calypso* (fr. 10):

First the old woman will take an initial taste  
(*progeusetai*) of your drink for you.

In the old days they referred to the people who produced pastries (*pemmata*) as well as flat-cakes as *dēmiourgoi* ("artisans"). Menander in *The Fake Heracles* (fr. 409); he finds fault with the cooks for meddling with matters they should not, saying:

Cook, I think you're extremely obnoxious.  
As for how many tables we're going to prepare, this is  
now the third time you're asking me. We're  
sacrificing one little pig;  
whether we're going to prepare eight tables, or two,  
or one—  
what difference does it make to you? Serve [corrupt]!  
It's not a matter of making *kanduloi*<sup>281</sup> or the kinds of  
dishes  
you're used to, when you combine honey, flour,  
and eggs in a *karukē*. Everything's the other way  
around now. The cook makes moulded cakes,  
bakes flat-cakes, and boils wheat pudding and serves it  
after the saltfish, followed by a fig-leaf pastry and  
grapes,  
whereas the artisan-woman (*hē dēmiourgos*) who's  
lined up opposite him  
roasts bits of meat and thrushes for snacks.  
The result is that the guest who comes for dinner has  
a snack;

μυρισάμενος δὲ καὶ στεφανωσάμενος πάλιν  
 <σύμμεικτα> δειπνέει τὰ μελίπηκτα ταῖς κίχλαις.

ὅτι δὲ ἐκεχώριστο τὰ τῆς ὑπουργίας, πεμμάτων μὲν  
 προνοουσῶν τῶν δημιουργῶν, ὀψαρτυτικῆς δὲ τῶν  
 μαγείρων, Ἀντιφάνης διεσάφησεν ἐν Χρυσίδι οὕτως·

τέτταρες δ' αὐλητρίδες  
 ἔχουσι μισθὸν καὶ μάγειροι δώδεκα,  
 καὶ δημιουργοὶ μέλιτος αἰτοῦσαι σκάφας.

Μένανδρος Δημιουργῶ.

- d (A.) τί τοῦτο, παῖ; διακονικῶς γάρ, νῆ Δία, |  
 προελήλυθας. (B.) ναί. πλάττομεν γὰρ πλάσματα  
 τὴν νύκτα τ' ἡγρυπνήκαμεν· καὶ νῦν ἔτι  
 ἀπόητα πάμπολλ' ἐστὶν ἡμῖν.

πεμμάτων δὲ πρῶτόν φησιν μνημονεύσαι Πανύασσιν  
 Σέλευκος, ἐν οἷς περὶ τῆς παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἀνθρωπο-  
 θυσίας διηγείται, πολλὰ μὲν ἐπιθεῖναι λέγων πέμμα-  
 τα, πολλὰς δὲ νοσσάδας ὄρνις, προτέρου Στησιχόρου  
 ἢ Ἰβύκου ἐν τοῖς Ἀθλοῖς ἐπιγραφομένοις εἰρηκότος  
 φέρεσθαι τῇ παρθένῳ δῶρα

- e σασαμίδας | χόνδρον τε καὶ ἐγκρίδας  
 ἄλλα τε πέγματα καὶ μέλι χλωρόν.

<sup>282</sup> A prostitute's name.

<sup>283</sup> I.e. the funeral games of Pelias.

<sup>284</sup> See 3.110b n.

ὅτι δὲ τὸ ποίημα τοῦτο Στησιχόρου ἐστὶν ἱκανώτατος  
μάρτυς Σιμωνίδης ὁ ποιητής, ὃς περὶ τοῦ Μελεάγρου  
τὸν λόγον ποιούμενός φησιν·

ὃς δουρὶ πάντας  
νίκασε νέους δινάεντα βαλὼν  
Ἄναυρον ὑπερ πολυβότρυος ἐξ Ἴωλκοῦ·  
f οὕτω γὰρ Ὀμηρος ἠδὲ Στασίχορος ἄεισε λαοῖς. |

ὁ γὰρ Στησίχορος οὕτως εἶρηκεν ἐν τῷ προκειμένῳ  
ᾄσματι τοῖς Ἀθλοῖς·

θρόσκων μὲν ἄρ' Ἀμφιάραος ἄκοντι δὲ  
νίκασεν Μελέαγρος.

οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δὲ καὶ περὶ Δηλίων ἅ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ  
Ἀθηναῖος εἶρηκεν ὅτι μαγείρων καὶ τραπέζοποιῶν  
παρείχοντο χρείας τοῖς παραγινομένοις πρὸς τὰς ἱε-  
ρουργίας, καὶ ὅτι ἦν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων ὀνόματα  
173 Μαγίδες καὶ Γογγύλοι, || ἐπειδὴ τὰς μάζας, φησὶν  
Ἀριστοφάνης<sup>33</sup>, ἐν ταῖς θοίναις δι' ἡμέρας τρίβοντες  
παρείχον ὥσπερ<sup>34</sup> γυναιξὶ γογγύλας μεμαγμένας. κα-  
λοῦνται δὲ καὶ μέχρι νῦν τινες αὐτῶν Χοίρακοι καὶ  
Ἀμνοὶ καὶ Ἀρτυσίλεω καὶ Σήσαμοι καὶ Ἀρτυσίτραγοι  
καὶ Νεωκόροι<sup>35</sup> καὶ Ἰχθυβόλοι, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν Κυ-

<sup>33</sup> Ἀριστοφάνης Schweighäuser: Ἀριστοτέλης ACE

<sup>34</sup> ὥσπερ ἐν Α

<sup>35</sup> Kaibel suggested Ἀρτοτράγοι καὶ Κρεωβόροι, while  
Gulick proposed emending the final word to Κρεωκόροι.

## BOOK IV

As for the fact that this poem is by Stesichorus, the poet Simonides (*PMG* 564) will do quite well as a witness when he says, in the course of telling the story of Meleager:

who defeated all  
the young men with his spear and drove them over  
the eddying Anaurus out of Iolcus full of grapes.  
For this is how Homer and Stesichorus sang the song  
to the people.

Because Stesichorus puts it this way in his poem *The Games* (*PMG* 179(b)), mentioned above:

Amphiaraus was victorious in the long jump,  
Meleager with the javelin.

Nor am I unfamiliar with what Apollodorus of Athens (*FGrH* 244 F 151) has to say about the inhabitants of Delos, which is that they worked as cooks and *trapezopoioi*<sup>285</sup> for visitors attending the sacred rites, and that because of what they did, some of them were named Magis<sup>286</sup> or Gongulis (“Round”), since Aristophanes (cf. *Pax* 27–8) claims that at their feasts they worked the barley-cakes all day long and served them kneaded round (*gongulai*), as one would for women. Even today some of them are called Choirakos<sup>287</sup>, Amnos (“Lamb”), Artusileōs (“Public Seasoner”), Sēsamos (“Sesame Seed”), Artusitragos (“Goat-Seasoner”), Neōkoros (“Temple Warden”), and Ichthubolos (“Fish-Spearer”); some of the women are named Kuminanthē (“Cumin-Flower”); and they are all collec-

<sup>285</sup> Cf. 4.170d–e.

<sup>286</sup> Elsewhere a type of cake; cognate with *massō*, “knead.”

<sup>287</sup> Cognate with *choiros*, “piglet.”

μινάνθαι, κοινῇ δὲ πάντες ἑλεοδύται διὰ τὸ τοῖς ἐλεοῖς ὑποδύεσθαι διακονοῦντες ἐν ταῖς θοίναις. ἐλεὸς δ' ἐστὶν ἡ μαγειρικὴ τράπεζα. Ὅμηρος·

b αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ὥπτησε καὶ εἰν ἐλεοῖσιν ἔθηκε<sup>36</sup>. |

ὅθεν καὶ Πολυκράτων ὁ Κρίθωνος Ῥηναιεὺς δίκην γραφόμενος οὐ Δηλίους αὐτοὺς ὀνομάζει, ἀλλὰ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἑλεοδυτῶν ἐπητιάσατο. καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων δὲ νόμος κελεύει ὕδωρ παρέχειν ἐλεοδύτας, τοὺς τραπεζοποιοὺς καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους διακόνοους σημαίνων. Κρίτων δ' ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς ἐν Φιλοπράγμονι παρασίτους τοῦ θεοῦ καλεῖ τοὺς Δηλίους διὰ τούτων·

c Φοίνικα μεγάλου κύριον βαλλαντίου  
ναύκληρον ἐν τῷ λιμένι ποιήσας ἄπλουν |  
καὶ † φορμιῶσαι ναῦς ἀναγκάσας δύο,  
εἰς Δῆλον ἐλθεῖν ἠθέλησ' ἐκ Πειραιῶς  
πάντων ἀκούων διότι παρασίτῳ τόπος  
οὗτος τρία μόνος ἀγαθὰ κεκτήσθαι δοκεῖ,  
εὖοιφον ἀγοράν, † παντοδαπαν οὐκουντ' † ὄχλον,  
d αὐτοὺς παρασίτους τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς Δηλίους. |

Ἀχαιοὺς δ' ὁ Ἑρετριεὺς ἐν Ἀλκμαίῳ τῷ σατυρικῷ

<sup>36</sup> Other witnesses have ἔχευεν.

<sup>288</sup> Otherwise unknown. Rheneae is a tiny island very close to Delos.

<sup>289</sup> This is most naturally taken as a reference to the regula-

## BOOK IV

tively referred to as Eleodutai because they get under the tables (*eleois hupoduesthai*) when they serve the food at the feasts. A cook's table is an *eleos*. Homer (*Il.* 9.215):

but after he roasted it and placed it on tables (*eleoi*).

This is why, when Polycraton son of Crithon of Rhenaea<sup>288</sup> sued them, he did not refer to them as Delians, but brought charges against the "Eleodutid state." And the Amphictyonic law<sup>289</sup> requires that water be provided by *eleodutai*, meaning the *trapezopoioi* and other servants of that sort. The comic poet Crito in *The Busybody* (fr. 3) refers to the Delians as the parasites of the god, in the following verses:

After he made a Phoenician shipowner, who  
controlled  
a large purse, give up his voyage  
and forced him to [corrupt] two ships,  
he wanted to leave Piraeus and go to Delos,  
because he heard that this appears to be the only  
place in the world that has three good features for a  
parasite:  
a marketplace full of fine food; a population that  
[corrupt];  
and the Delians themselves, who are parasites of the  
god.

Achaeus of Eretria in the satyr play *Alcmeon* (*TrGF* 20 F

tions for Apollo's shrine at Delphi, which was controlled by an Amphictyonic (literally "Dwelling-Around," i.e. "Regional") League of Greek states. But perhaps the term is used loosely (and uniquely) here to refer to the magistrates who oversaw Delos.



# ATHENAEUS

καρυκκοποιούς καλεῖ τοὺς Δελφοὺς διὰ τούτων·

καρυκκοποιούς προσβλέπων βδελύσσομαι,  
παρόσον τὰ ἱερεῖα περιτέμνοντες δῆλον ὡς ἐμαγεί-  
ρευον αὐτὰ καὶ ἐκαρύκκευον. εἰς ταῦτα δὲ ἀποβλέπων  
καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἔφη·

ἀλλ' ὦ Δελφῶν πλείστας ἀκονῶν  
Φοῖβε μαχαίρας  
καὶ προδιδάσκων τοὺς σοὺς προπόλους.

κὰν τοῖς ἐξῆς δ' ὁ Ἀχαιὸς φησιν·

τίς ὑποκεκρυμμένος μένει,  
e † σαραβάκων † κοπίδων συνομώνυμε; |

ἐπισκώπτουσι γὰρ οἱ σάτυροι τοὺς Δελφοὺς ὡς περὶ  
τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς θοίνας διατρίβοντας. Σῆμος δ' ἐν  
τετάρτῃ Δηλιάδος, Δελφοῖς, φησί, παραγινομένοις εἰς  
Δῆλον παρέιχον Δῆλιοι ἄλας καὶ ὄξος καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ  
ξύλα καὶ στρώματα. Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἢ Θεόφραστος ἐν  
τοῖς Ὑπομνήμασι περὶ Μαγνήτων λέγων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ  
Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ ὅτι Δελφῶν εἰσιν ἄποικοι τὰς  
αὐτὰς ἐπιτελοῦντας αὐτοὺς ποιεῖ χρείας τοῖς παρα-  
f γιγνομένοις τῶν ξένων, λέγων οὕτως· | Μάγνητες οἱ  
ἐπὶ τῷ Μαιάνδρῳ ποταμῷ κατοικοῦντες ἱεροὶ τοῦ θεοῦ,  
Δελφῶν ἄποικοι, παρέχουσι τοῖς ἐπιδημοῦσι στέγην,  
ἄλας, ἔλαιον, ὄξος, ἔτι λύχνον, κλίνας, στρώματα,  
τραπέζας. Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Σκήψιος ἐν ἑκτῷ καὶ δεκάτῳ  
Τρωικοῦ Διακόσμου ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ φησιν ἐπὶ τῆς

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12) refers to the inhabitants of Delphi as *karukkē*<sup>290</sup>-makers, in the following lines:

When I see these *karukkē*-makers, I'm disgusted,

inasmuch as it is clear that, when they trimmed the meat, they used to cook it and make *karukkē*. This is what Aristophanes (fr. 705) is referring to when he says:

But, O Phoebus, you who sharpen the largest number of butcher's knives belonging to the people of Delphi and teach your servants in advance.

And in the lines that follow, Achaeus says (*TrGF* 20 F 13):

Who remains hidden underneath,  
O you who share the name of [corrupt] cleavers?;

for the satyrs are mocking the Delphians for spending all their time on sacrifices and feasts. Semus says in Book IV of the *History of Delos* (*FGrH* 396 F 7): When the Delphians visited Delos, the Delians supplied them with salt, vinegar, oil, firewood, and bedding. Aristotle (fr. 772) or Theophrastus asserts in the *Commentaries* that the Magnesians who live along the Maeander River are colonists of the Delphians, and represents them as providing the same services for visiting foreigners. He says the following: The Magnesians who live along the Maeander River devote themselves to the god;<sup>291</sup> are colonists of the Delphians; and supply their visitors with shelter, salt, oil, and vinegar, as well as a lamp, couches, bedding, and tables. Demetrius of Scepsis says in Book XVI of the *Trojan Catalogue* (fr. 10 Gaede) that shrines were founded along

<sup>290</sup> See 4.132f n.

<sup>291</sup> Apollo.

στῶν ἐστὶν ὀργάνων ἢ ὑδραυλὶς ἢ τῶν ἐντατῶν. Ἀριστόξενος μὲν οὖν τοῦτο οὐκ οἶδε. λέγεται δὲ Πλάτωνα μικράν τινα ἔννοιαν δοῦναι τοῦ κατασκευάσματος νυκτερινὸν ποιήσαντα ὥρολόγιον εἰκὸς τῷ ὑδραυλικῷ οἶον κλειψύδραν μεγάλην λίσαν. καὶ τὸ ὑδραυλικὸν δὲ ὄργανον δοκεῖ κλειψύδρα εἶναι. ἐντατὸν οὖν καὶ  
d καθαπτὸν οὐκ ἂν νομισθεῖη, | ἐμπνευστὸν δὲ ἂν ἴσως ῥηθεῖη διὰ τὸ ἐμπνεῖσθαι τὸ ὄργανον ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος. κατεστραμμένοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ αὐλοὶ εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀρασσομένου τοῦ ὕδατος ὑπὸ τινος νεανίσκου, ἔτι δὲ δικνουμένων ἀξόνων<sup>39</sup> διὰ τοῦ ὀργάνου ἐμπνέονται οἱ αὐλοὶ καὶ ἦχον ἀποτελοῦσι προσηνῇ. ἔοικεν δὲ τὸ ὄργανον βωμῷ στρογγύλῳ, καὶ φασὶ τοῦτο εὐρῆσθαι ὑπὸ Κτησιβίου κουρέως ἐνταῦθα οἰκοῦντος ἐν τῇ Ἀσπενδία ἐπὶ τοῦ δευτέρου Εὐεργέτου, διαπρέψαι τέ  
e φασὶ μεγάλως. τουτονὶ οὖν καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ | διδάξαι γυναιῖκα Θαΐδα. Τρύφων δ' ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ Ὀνομασιῶν

<sup>39</sup> ἀξόνων Dalechamp: ἀξινῶν ACE

<sup>295</sup> An important early 4th-century authority on music, cited by Athenaeus at e.g. 4.174e; he predates the invention of the water-organ.

<sup>296</sup> Sc. when a sundial would be useless. Hydraulic clocks were in fact another of Ctesibius' inventions (Vitruv. 9.8.4).

<sup>297</sup> A primitive form of water-clock used in Athens' lawcourts.

<sup>298</sup> Athenaeus' account of how the hydraulic organ functioned is badly garbled. The pipes did not touch the water, but were connected to a domed chamber inside the organ. The upper portion of this chamber contained air, while the lower portion contained

## BOOK IV

whether the hydraulic organ is a wind instrument or a string instrument. Aristoxenus<sup>295</sup> knows nothing about it; but it is said that Plato provided some idea of how one might be constructed, when he built a clock that would work at night<sup>296</sup> which resembled a hydraulic organ and was, as it were, a very large *klepsudra*.<sup>297</sup> The hydraulic organ thus appears to be a type of *klepsudra*. It could not therefore be considered a string or a percussion instrument, but might perhaps be said to be a wind instrument, because the pressure of the water causes air to move in and out of it. For the pipes are set down into the water; and when pressure is exerted on the water by a young man, and when, furthermore, the slider-valves move around inside the instrument, air moves through the pipes and they produce a pleasant sound.<sup>298</sup> The instrument resembles a round altar; they say that it was discovered by a barber named Ctesibius who lived there in Aspendia during the reign of the second Euergetes<sup>299</sup> and was very prominent. They also say that he taught his wife Thais to play. Tryphon says in Book III of *On Terminology* (fr. 111 Velsen)—the

water; pressure was maintained on the air in the chamber by a combination of an external cistern, in which the water level was higher than it was within the chamber, and a piston-pump, by means of which additional air was added. Keys and sliders allowed pressurized air to be forced out through one or more pipes, producing music. Cf. Vitruv. 10.8; West, *AGM* 114–18 (with a helpful drawing).

<sup>299</sup> Ptolemy VIII (reigned 170–163, 145–116 BCE). Ctesibius in fact appears to have lived during the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. As Alceides claims at 4.174b that Ctesibius was an Alexandrian, Aspendia (otherwise unknown) is apparently to be understood as an area within the city.

(ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ σύγγραμμα περὶ αὐλῶν καὶ ὀργάνων)  
 συγγράψαι φησὶ περὶ τῆς ὑδραύλεως Κτησίβιον τὸν  
 μηχανικόν. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ οἶδα εἰ περὶ τὸ ὄνομα σφάλ-  
 λεται. ὁ μέντοι Ἀριστόξενος προκρίνει τὰ ἐντατὰ καὶ  
 καθαπτὰ τῶν ὀργάνων τῶν ἐμπνευστῶν, ῥάδια εἶναι  
 φάσκων τὰ ἐμπνευστά· πολλοὺς γὰρ μὴ διδαχθέντας  
 αὐλεῖν τε καὶ συρίζειν, ὥσπερ τοὺς ποιμένας. καὶ  
 f τοσαῦτα μὲν ἔχω σοι ἐγὼ λέγειν περὶ τοῦ ὑδραυλικοῦ |  
 ὀργάνου, Οὐλπιανέ· γιγγραίνοισι γὰρ οἱ Φοίνικες, ὥς  
 φησιν ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἐχρῶντο αὐλοῖς σπιθαμιαίοις τὸ  
 μέγεθος, ὅξυν καὶ γοερὸν φθεγγομένοις. τούτοις δὲ καὶ  
 οἱ Κᾶρες χρῶνται ἐν τοῖς θρήνοις, εἰ μὴ ἄρα καὶ ἡ  
 Καρία Φοινίκη ἐκαλεῖτο, ὥς παρὰ Κορίννη καὶ Βακ-  
 χυλίδῃ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν. ὀνομάζονται δὲ οἱ αὐλοὶ γίγγροι  
 ὑπὸ τῶν Φοινίκων ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἄδωνιν θρήνων· τὸν  
 γὰρ Ἄδωνιν Γίγγρην καλεῖτε ὑμεῖς οἱ Φοίνικες, ὥς  
 175 ἱστορεῖ Δημοκλείδης. || μνημονεύει τῶν γίγγρων αὐ-  
 λῶν Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ἰατρῷ καὶ Μένανδρος ἐν Καρίνῃ  
 Ἄμφις τ' ἐν Διθυράμβῳ λέγων οὕτως·

(A.) ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν γίγγραν γε τὸν σοφώτατον.

(B.) τίς δ' ἔσθ' ὁ γίγγρας; (A.) καινὸν ἐξεύρημά

τι

ἡμέτερον, ὃ θεάτρῳ μὲν οὐδεπώποτε

<sup>300</sup> There is nothing like this in the preserved works of Xenophon, and the text should probably be emended to read "Tryphon" (thus Bapp) or "Xenophanes" (thus Bergk).

## BOOK IV

treatise discusses pipes and instruments—that the mechanical engineer Ctesibius wrote a treatise on the hydraulic organ; I am uncertain as to whether he is mistaken about the name. Aristoxenus (fr. 95 Wehrli) in fact prefers string and percussion instruments to wind instruments, asserting that wind instruments are too easy; because many people play pipes or pan-pipes without taking lessons, as for example shepherds. This is all I can tell you, Ulpian, about the hydraulic organ. According to Xenophon,<sup>300</sup> the Phoenicians used to play *gingrainoi* pipes, which are about nine inches<sup>301</sup> long and produce a piercing, mournful sound. The Carians play them for their laments—unless “Caria” means “Phoenicia” here, as it does sometimes in Corinna (PMG 686) and Bacchylides (fr. 40). The Phoenicians refer to the pipes as *gingroi* because of the laments they offer for Adonis; for you Phoenicians<sup>302</sup> refer to Adonis as *Gingrēs*, according to Democleides (FGrH 794 F 8). Antiphanes mentions *gingras* pipes in *The Doctor* (fr. 107), as do Menander in *The Carian Female Dirge-Singer* (fr. 203) and Amphis in *The Dithyramb* (fr. 14), where he says the following:

(A.) But I . . . the *gingras*, the cleverest instrument there is.

(B.) What’s a *gingras*? (A.) It’s a new discovery of mine, which I never put on display

<sup>301</sup> Literally “one span,” the length of a fully extended hand from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the little finger.

<sup>302</sup> Ulpian is from Tyre, and this portion of Alceides’ remarks is therefore a pointed if oblique attack on him.

## BOOK IV

in the theater, although it's being used now at  
drinking parties  
in Athens. (B.) Why don't you introduce it  
to the population generally? (A.) Because I'm waiting  
for a tribe  
that really wants to win the prize to draw my name;  
for I know  
it'll turn everything upside down with the applause it  
gets.

Also Axionicus in *The Man Who Loved Euripides* (fr. 3):

They're both so crazy about Euripides'  
songs that everything else sounds like  
*gingras*-music to them and a great disaster.

And how much better, my brilliant Ulpian, this hydraulic  
organ is than the so-called *nablas*<sup>303</sup>, which also, according  
to the parodist Sopater in his play entitled *The Gates* (fr.  
15), was invented by the Phoenicians! He says the follow-  
ing:

Nor has the deep-throated sound  
of the Sidonian *nablas* left the strings.

And in *Mustakos' Wage* (fr. 10) he says:

A *nablas* isn't well-designed in the way its notes are  
articulated,  
since a piece of lifeless lotus-wood stuck in its ribs  
produces living music. But let someone [corrupt]  
the pleasant musical chorus by crying "*Euai!*"

<sup>303</sup> Cognate with Hebrew *nebel* (a harp or lute of some sort).



Φιλήμων ἐν Μοιχῶ.

(Α.) ἔδει παρῆναι, Παρμένων, αὐλητρίδ' ἥ  
νάβλαν τιν'. (Πα.) ὁ δὲ νάβλας τί ἐστίν < . . . >;

(Α.) < . . . > οὐκ οἶδας, ἐμβρόντητε σύ;

(Πα.) μὰ Δία. (Α.) τί φῆς; οὐκ οἶσθα νάβλαν;  
οὐδὲν οὖν

οἶσθας ἀγαθὸν σύ < γ' >. οὐδὲ σαμβυκίστριαν;

καὶ τὸ τρίγωνον δὲ καλούμενον ὄργανον Ἰόβας ἐν  
τετάρτῳ Θεατρικῆς Ἱστορίας Σύρων εὔρημά φησιν  
εἶναι, ὡς καὶ τὸν καλούμενον λυροφοίνικα < . . . >  
e σαμβύκην. | τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὄργανον Νεάνθης ὁ Κυζι-  
κηνὸς ἐν πρώτῳ Ὄρων εὔρημα εἶναι λέγει Ἰβύκου τοῦ  
Ῥηγίνου ποιητοῦ, ὡς καὶ Ἀνακρέοντος τὸ βάρβιτον.  
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμῶν τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων κατατρέχεις ὡς ἀμού-  
σων καὶ τὸν μόναυλον συνεχῶς ὀνομάζεις ἐπιχω-  
ριάζοντα παρ' ἡμῖν, ἄκουε καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἃ νῦν ἔχω  
σοι λέγειν ἐν προχείρῳ. Ἰόβας μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ προ-  
ειρημένῳ συγγράμματι Αἰγυπτίους φησὶν λέγειν τὸν  
μόναυλον Ὀσίριδος εἶναι εὔρημα, καθάπερ καὶ τὸν  
καλούμενον φώτιγγα πλαγίαυλον, οὗ καὶ αὐτοῦ παρα-  
f στήσομαι | μνημονεύοντα ἐλλόγιμον ἄνδρα. ἐπιχωρι-  
άζει γὰρ καὶ ὁ φῶτιγξ αὐλὸς παρ' ἡμῖν. τοῦ δὲ  
μοναύλου μνημονεύει Σοφοκλῆς μὲν ἐν Θαμύρᾳ οὕ-  
τως·

<sup>304</sup> For the *sambukē*, see 4.129a n.  
see West, AGM 72.

<sup>305</sup> A type of harp;

<sup>306</sup> A type of bowl-lyre, first men-

## BOOK IV

Philemon in *The Seducer* (fr. 45):

(A.) There should have been a pipe-girl there,  
 Parmenon, or  
 a *nablas*. (Parmenon) What's a *nablas*? . . .  
 (A.) . . . You don't know, you lunatic?  
 (Parmenon) No, by Zeus, I don't. (A.) What do you  
 mean? You don't know about a *nablas*? In that  
 case, you don't  
 know about anything good. Are you also  
 unacquainted with *sambukē*-girls?<sup>304</sup>

Juba claims in Book IV of his *History of the Theater* (*FGrH* 275 F 15) that the instrument referred to as a *trigōnos*<sup>305</sup> was invented by the Syrians, along with the so-called Phoenician lyre . . . a *sambukē*. Neanthes of Cyzicus reports in Book I of his *Annals* (*FGrH* 84 F 5) that this instrument was invented by the poet Ibycus of Rhegium, in the same way that the *barbitos*<sup>306</sup> was invented by Anacreon. But since you run us Alexandrians down for our lack of musical ability and consistently describe the single pipe as something we commonly use, listen to what I have available to tell you now about it. Juba says in the treatise mentioned above (*FGrH* 275 F 16) that the Egyptians claim that the single pipe was invented by Osiris, as was the flute<sup>307</sup> referred to as a *phōtinx*, which is mentioned by a prominent authority I will cite later.<sup>308</sup> The *phōtinx* pipe is commonly used in our country. But Sophocles mentions the single pipe in *Thamyris* (fr. 241), as follows:

tioned—although not necessarily invented—by Anacreon (*PMG* 472, quoted at 4.182f); see West, *AGM* 57–9. <sup>307</sup> Literally “transverse pipe.” <sup>308</sup> Posidonius, cited at 4.176c.

# ATHENAEUS

ᾧχωκε γὰρ κροτητὰ πηκτίδων μέλη  
 λύρα μοναύλοις † τε χειμωντεως  
 ναος στέρημα κωμασάσης. †

Ἄραρως δ' ἐν Πανὸς Γοναῖς.

176 ἄρπάσας μόναυλον εὐθὺς πῶς δοκεῖς; ||  
 κούφως ἀνήλλετο.

Ἀναξανδρίδης δ' ἐν Θησαυρῷ.

ἀναλαβὼν  
 μόναυλον ἡϋλουν τὸν ὑμέναιον.

καὶ ἐν Φιαληφόρῳ.

(A.) τὸν μόναυλον ποῖ τέτροφας; οὗτος Σύρε.  
 (B.) ποῖον μόναυλον; (A.) τὸν κάλαμον.

Σώπατρος Βακχίδι.

καὶ τὸ μόναυλον μέλος ἤχησε.

Πρωταγορίδης δ' ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ τῶν  
 b Ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ Παιηγύρεών φησιν· παντὸς δὲ ὀργάνου |  
 κατὰ μίτον ἥπται, κροτάλων, † ὑπὸ φανοῦ † πανδού-  
 ρου, τῷ τε ἡδεῖ μοναύλῳ τὰς ἡδίστας ἀρμονίας ἀναμι-  
 νυρίζει. Ποσειδώνιος δ' ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς φιλόσοφος ἐν  
 τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν διηγούμενος περὶ τοῦ Ἀπα-  
 μέων πρὸς Λαρισαίους πολέμου γράφει τάδε παρα-

309 Cf. 4.183f. 310 Probably some type of lute; cf. Poll.  
 4.60 (identified as an Assyrian name); West, AGM 80.

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For gone are the songs struck from harps (*pēktides*)  
with lyre and single pipes [corrupt]  
[corrupt].

Araros in *The Birth of Pan* (fr. 13):

He grabbed a single pipe very quickly, let me  
assure you!  
And he started leaping about lightly.

Anaxandrides in *The Treasure* (fr. 19):

He picked up  
a single pipe and started playing the wedding song.

Also in *The Phiale-Bearer* (fr. 52):

(A.) What have you done with my single pipe?  
Hey Syrus!  
(B.) What do you mean, your “single pipe”? (A.) The  
reed.

Sopater in *Bakchis* (fr. 2):

and he made the single-pipe song resound.

Protagorides of Cyzicus says in Book II of *On the Festivals in Daphne* (FGrH 853 F 2a):<sup>309</sup> He has tried every instrument, one after another: the cymbals, [corrupt], the *pandoura*<sup>310</sup>; and he produces lovely droning harmonies on the lovely single pipe. Posidonius the Stoic philosopher in Book III of his *Histories* (FGrH 87 F 2 = fr. 54 Edelstein–Kidd), when he describes the war the inhabitants of Apamea fought against the people of Larisa<sup>311</sup>,

<sup>311</sup> Probably in 145 BCE.

ζωνίδια καὶ λογχάρι' ἀνειληφότες ἰῶ καὶ ρύπῳ κε-  
κρυμμένα, πετάσια δ' ἐπιτεθειμένοι καὶ προσκόπια  
σκιὰν μὲν ποιοῦντα, καταπνεῖσθαι δ' οὐ κωλύοντα  
τοὺς τραχήλους, ὄνους ἐφελκόμενοι γέμοντας οἴνου  
c καὶ βρωμάτων παντοδαπῶν, | οἷς παρέκειτο φωτίγγια  
καὶ μοναύλια, κώμων οὐ πολέμων ὄργανα. οὐκ ἄγνοῶ  
δὲ ὅτι Ἀμερίας ὁ Μακεδὼν ἐν ταῖς Γλώσσαις τιτύ-  
ρινόν φησι καλεῖσθαι τὸν μόναυλον. ἴδε ἀπέχεις, καλὲ  
Οὐλπιανέ, καὶ τὸν τῆς φώτιγγος μνημονεύοντα· ὅτι δὲ  
ὁ μόναυλος ἦν ὁ νῦν καλούμενος καλαμαύλης σαφῶς  
παρίστησιν Ἡδύλος ἐν τοῖς Ἐπιγράμμασιν οὕτως  
λέγων·

<τοῦτο> Θεῶν ὁ μόναυλος ὑπ' ἡρίον ὁ γλυκὺς  
οἰκεῖ

d αὐλητῆς, μίμων κῆν θυμέλῃσι Χάρις. |  
† τυφλὸς ὑπαὶ γήρως εἶχεν καὶ Σκίρπαλον υἱὸν  
νῆπιόν τ' ἐκάλει Σκίρπαλος Εὐπαλάμου·  
αἰεῖδεν δ' αὐτοῦ τὰ γενέθλια, τοῦτο γὰρ εἶχεν  
πανμαρπᾶν ἡδυσμα σημανέων. †  
ἡῦλει δὲ Γλαύκης μεμεθυσμένα παίγνια  
Μουσέων  
ἢ τὸν ἐν ἀκρήτοις Βάτταλον ἡδυπότην

312 Cf. 4.182d (citing Artemidorus).

313 Cf. 4.175e.

314 Much of the epigram is desperately corrupt, but the first and last lines are sound and serve to support Alceides' claim that a *monaulos* can also be called a *kalamaul(et)ēs*. Theon is Stephanis #1205.

315 Stephanis #545 (3rd century BCE).

## BOOK IV

writes the following: They took up daggers and spears covered with rust and dirt; put broad-brimmed hats and visors, which provided shade but did not prevent air from circulating around their necks, on their heads; and dragged along donkeys loaded with wine and food of every sort, beside which lay flutes (*phōtingia*) and single pipes, which are instruments intended for wandering drunk through the streets rather than for war. Nor am I unaware that Amerias of Macedon in his *Glossary* (p. 9 Hoffmann) says that the single pipe is referred to as a *titurinos*.<sup>312</sup> So there you are, my good Ulpian; you have the man who mentions the *phōtinx*.<sup>313</sup> That the word *monaulos* (here “player of a single pipe”) was used for the man referred to today as a *kalamaulēs* (literally “reed-piper”) is established clearly by Hedylus in his *Epigrams* (HE 1877–86), where he says the following:<sup>314</sup>

Beneath this mound dwells Theon the sweet piper,  
who

played the single pipe (*monaulos*) and was Grace  
itself on the mime stage.

† After old age blinded him he had a son named  
Scirpalus,

and Scirpalus called his little child the son of  
Eupalamus;

and to sing at his birthday feast; for he had this  
[corrupt] .†

Indeed, he used to sing Glauce's<sup>315</sup> trifles, which were  
drunk on the Muses,

or about Battalus,<sup>316</sup> who enjoys drinking unmixed  
wine,

ἥ καὶ Κώταλον ἥ καὶ Πάκαλον. ἀλλὰ Θέωνα  
τὸν καλαμαυλήτην εἶπατε, “χαῖρε Θέων”.

- e ὥσπερ οὖν τοὺς τῷ καλάμῳ αὐλοῦντας καλαμαύλας |  
λέγουσι νῦν, οὕτω καὶ ῥαππαύλας, ὥς φησιν Ἀμερίας  
ὁ Μακεδὼν ἐν ταῖς Γλώσσαις, τοὺς τῇ ῥάππῃ<sup>41</sup> αὐ-  
λοῦντας. γινώσκειν δὲ βούλομαί σε, ἀνδρῶν λῶσπε  
Οὐλπιανέ, ὅτι Ἀλεξανδρέων μουσικώτεροι ἄλλοι γενέ-  
σθαι οὐχ ἰστόρηνται, καὶ οὐ λέγω περὶ κιθαρωδίαν  
μόνην, ἥς καὶ ὁ εὐτελέστατος παρ’ ἡμῖν ἰδιώτης προσ-  
έτι τε καὶ ἀναλφάβητος οὕτως ἐστὶ συνήθης ὥς τά-  
χιστα ἐλέγχειν τὰ παρὰ τὰς κρούσεις ἀμαρτήματα  
γινόμενα, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ αὐλοῦς εἰσι μουσικώτατοι οὐ  
f μόνον τοὺς παρθενίους καλουμένους | καὶ παιδικούς,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρείους, οἵτινες καλοῦνται τέλειοί τε  
καὶ ὑπερτέλειοι, καὶ τοὺς κιθαριστηρίους δὲ καὶ τοὺς  
δακτυλικούς. τοὺς γὰρ ἐλύμους αὐλοῦς, ὧν μνημονεύει  
Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Νιόβῃ τε καὶ Τυμπανισταῖς, οὐκ ἄλλους  
τινὰς εἶναι ἀκούομεν ἢ τοὺς Φρυγίους, ὧν καὶ αὐτῶν  
ἐμπείρως ἔχουσιν Ἀλεξανδρεῖς. οἶδασι δὲ καὶ τοὺς  
διόπους ἔτι τε μεσοκόπους καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους ὑπο-  
τρήτους. τῶν δ’ ἐλύμων αὐλῶν μνημονεύει καὶ Καλ-

<sup>41</sup> ῥάππη Gulick: καλάμη A

<sup>316</sup> Stephanis #519 (4th century BCE).

<sup>317</sup> I.e. those with the highest registers (“soprano” and “treble,” respectively), in contrast to the “male” pipes referred to below; see West, AGM 89–94, esp. 89–90.



## BOOK IV

or about Cotalus, or Pacalus. But as for Theon  
the *kalamaulētēs*, say "Farewell, Theon."

In the same way, therefore, that people today refer to those who play pipe-music (*aulountes*) on a reed-pipe (*kalamos*) as *kalamaulai*, so too, according to Amerias of Macedon in his *Glossary* (p. 14 Hoffmann), those who play pipe-music (*aulountes*) on a *rhappē* are called *rhappaulai*. But I would like you to be aware, my excellent Ulpian, that no other people are recorded as being more musical than the Alexandrians; I am not referring to singing only to the *ki-thara*, with which the most worthless, indeed uneducated private citizen in our country is so familiar that he can instantly detect any errors that occur when the notes are struck. Their musical expertise also extends to the pipes, and not just what are referred to as girls' pipes and boys' pipes,<sup>317</sup> but also the male pipes, which are called both *teleioi* ("fully-grown," i.e. "baritone") and *huperteleioi* ("more than fully-grown," i.e. "bass"), as well as *kithara*-playing pipes and finger-pipes. As for *elumoi*-pipes<sup>318</sup>, which Sophocles mentions in both *Niobe* (fr. 450) and *Drummers* (fr. 644), I hear that they are no different from Phrygian pipes, with which the Alexandrians are also experienced. The Alexandrians are also familiar with pipes with two holes,<sup>319</sup> as well as with the mid-sized variety and those referred to as *hupotrētoi* ("under-hole") pipes. Callias mentions *elumoi*-pipes in *Men in Shackles* (fr. 23). Juba

<sup>318</sup> Unequal pipes, one of which was a horn-pipe; see West, AGM 91–2.

<sup>319</sup> I.e. with two parallel tubes of different length or bore (thus West, AGM 92)?

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(*FGrH* 275 F 81) says that they were invented by the Phrygians and are also referred to as baton-pipes, because they are the same thickness.<sup>320</sup> Cratinus the Younger says in *Theramenes* (fr. 3) that the Cyprians played them. I am also familiar with what are called half-hole pipes, about which Anacreon (*PMG* 375) says:

Who turned his  
attention to lovely youth and is dancing to the  
    accompaniment of soft  
half-hole pipes?

These pipes are smaller than the baritone (*teleioi*) variety. Aeschylus, at any rate, says metaphorically in *Ixion* (fr. 91):

The large pipe  
quickly consumes the half-hole.

These are the same as the so-called boys' pipes, which are played at feasts because they are inappropriate for contests. This is why Anacreon (above) refers to them as "soft." I am also familiar with other types of pipes used for tragedy, *lysiodes*<sup>321</sup>, and *kithara*-playing, which are mentioned by Ephorus in his *Inventions* (*FGrH* 70 F 3) and by Euphranor the Pythagorean in his *On Pipes*, as well as by

<sup>320</sup> Sc. as a Spartan message-baton (*skutalē*), for which see Plu. *Lys.* 19.5–7.

<sup>321</sup> A type of mime in which a female entertainer wore male clothing or a male mask; cf. 5.211b–c; 14.620e.

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scended) and were reinserted in the wrong place, and subsequent copyists failed to notice the problem.

<sup>43</sup> ἡμίονον καὶ τὸν ἐλάσσονα A

γούν Μιτυλήνῃ μίαν τῶν Μουσῶν πεποιῆσθαι ὑπὸ  
 Λεσβοθέμιδος ἔχουσαν σαμβύκην. Ἀριστόξενος δ'  
 ἔκφυλα ὄργανα καλεῖ φοίνικας καὶ πηκτίδας καὶ μα-  
 γάδιδας σαμβύκας τε καὶ τρίγωνα καὶ κλεισιάμβους  
 καὶ σκινδαψοὺς καὶ τὸ ἐννεάχορδον καλούμενον. Πλά-  
 των δ' ἐν τρίτῳ Πολιτείας φησὶν· “οὐκ ἄρα,” ἦν δ' ἐγώ,  
 “πολυχορδίας γε οὐδὲ παναρμονίου ἡμῖν δεήσει ἐν  
 183 ταῖς ᾠδαῖς τε καὶ μέλεσιν. “οὐ μοι,” ἔφη, φαίνεται. ἢ  
 τριγῶνων ἄρα καὶ πηκτίδων καὶ πάντων ὀργάνων ὅσα  
 πολύχορδα καὶ παναρμόνια < . . . >” ἐστὶν δ' ὁ σκιν-  
 δαψὸς τετράχορδον ὄργανον, ὡς ὁ παρωδὸς φησι  
 Μάτρων ἐν τούτοις·

οὐδ' ἀπὸ πασσαλόφιν κρέμασαν, ὅθι περ  
 τετάνυστο  
 σκινδαψὸς τετράχορδος ἀνηλακάτοιο γυναικός.

μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ καὶ Θεόπομπος ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐπο-  
 ποιὸς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ἀρματίῳ·<sup>1</sup>

σκινδαψὸν λυρόεντα μέγαν χείρεσσι τινάσσων,  
 οἰσύνον προμάλοιο τετυγμένον αἰζήεντος.

καὶ Ἀναξίλας ἐν Λυροποιῷ·

ἐγὼ δὲ βαρβίτους τριχόρδους, πηκτίδας,

<sup>328</sup> For the *nablas* and the *trigōnon*, see 4.175c–d with n. For the *sambukē*, see 4.129a n.

<sup>329</sup> Cf. 14.636b, where the same list is attributed to Phillis (who probably drew it from Aristoxenus). The *phoinix* and *skin-*

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ancient.<sup>328</sup> On Mitylene, for example, Lesbothemis represented one of the Muses as holding a *sambukē*. Aristoxenus (fr. 97 Wehrli)<sup>329</sup> refers to *phoinikes*, *pēktides*, *magadides*, *sambukai*, *trigōna*, *klepsiamboi*, *skindapsoi*, and the so-called “nine-string” as foreign instruments. Plato says in Book III of the *Republic* (399c–d): “So, then,” I said, “we’re not going to need instruments with many strings or that produce all types of harmonies for our songs and tunes.” “It doesn’t look like it to me,” he said. “Then of *trigōna*, *pēktides*, and all the instruments that have many strings and produce all types of harmonies . . . ” The *skindapsos* is an instrument with four strings, according to the parodist Matro (fr. 6 Olson–Sens = *SH* 539) in the following lines:

They did not hang it from a peg, where had been  
hung  
a four-stringed *skindapsos* belonging to a woman  
unconcerned with the distaff.

The epic poet Theopompus of Colophon also mentions it in his poem entitled *The Little Chariot* (*SH* 765):

brandishing in his hands a large, *lura*-like *skindapsos*  
made of withes from a vigorous willow.

Also Anaxilas in *The Lura-Maker* (fr. 15):

But I used to build<sup>330</sup> three-stringed *barbitoi*,

*dapsos* are lyres of some sort; the *pēktis* is a type of harp; and nothing else is known about the *klepsiambos*.

<sup>330</sup> The verb is preserved in the Doric form, but ought perhaps to be emended to show the normal Attic ending.



κιθάρας, λύρας, σκινδαψὸν ἐξηρτυόμαν.

Σώπατρος δ' ὁ παρωδὸς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Μυστά<κου Θητίω> δίχορδον εἶναί φησι τὴν πηκτίδα λέγων οὕτως·

- c     πηκτὶς δὲ Μούσῃ γαυριῶσα βαρβάρῳ |  
       δίχορδος εἰς σὴν χεῖρά πως κατεστάθη.

τῶν δὲ παριαμβίδων Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Περιάλλῳ μνημονεύει οὕτως·

Σεμέλα δὲ χορεύει  
 καὶ ὑπαυλεῖ σφιν † σοφὸς κιθάρα παριαμβίδας·  
 ἅ δὲ γεγάθει  
 πυκινῶν κρεγμῶν ἀκροαζόμενα.

- τὸ δὲ ψαλτήριον, ὥς φησιν Ἰόβας, Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Κυθήριος συνεπλήρωσε χορδαῖς καὶ ἐγγηράσας τῇ Ἐφεσίων πόλει ὡς σοφώτατον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τέχνης τουτὶ τὸ εὔρημα ἀνέθηκε ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος. μνημονεύει δ'  
 d ὁ Ἰόβας καὶ τοῦ λυροφοίνικος καὶ τοῦ ἐπιγονείου, | ὁ  
 νῦν εἰς ψαλτήριον ὄρθιον μετασχηματισθὲν διασώζει  
 τὴν τοῦ χρησαμένου προσηγορίαν. ἦν δ' ὁ Ἐπίγονος  
 φύσει μὲν Ἀμβρακιώτης, δημοποίητος δὲ Σικυώνιος·  
 μουσικώτατος δ' ὢν κατὰ χεῖρα δίχα πλήκτρον ἔψαλ-  
 λεν. πάντων οὖν τούτων τῶν προειρημένων ὀργάνων

---

<sup>331</sup> The passage is corrupt, but *pariambides* appear to be referred to as a metrical form rather than a musical instrument.

καὶ αὐλῶν ἐμπείρως ἔχουσι καὶ τεχνικῶς Ἀλεξαν-  
 δρεῖς, καὶ ἐν οἷς ἂν μου θέλῃς ἀποπειραθῆναι ἐπιδεί-  
 ξομαί σοι ἐγὼ αὐτός, πολλῶν ἄλλων μουσικωτέρων  
 μου ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ὑπαρχόντων. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ  
 e πολίτης | μου (οὗτος δ' οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τετελεύτηκε)  
 δημοσία ἐπιδειξάμενος ἐν τῷ τριγώνῳ ἐπικαλουμένῳ  
 ὀργάνῳ οὕτως ἐποίησε πάντας Ῥωμαίους μουσομα-  
 νεῖν ὡς τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἀπομνημονεύειν αὐτοῦ τὰ  
 κρούσματα. μνημονεύει δὲ τοῦ τριγώνου τούτου καὶ  
 Σοφοκλῆς ἐν μὲν Μυσοῖς οὕτως·

πολὺς δὲ Φρὺξ τρίγωνος ἀντίσπαστά τε  
 Λυδῆς ἐφύμνει πηκτίδος συγχορδία,

f καὶ ἐν Θαμύρᾳ. Ἀριστοφάνης δ' ἐν Δαιταλεῦσι | καὶ  
 Θεόπομπος ἐν Πηνελόπῃ, Εὐπολὶς δ' ἐν Βάπταις φη-  
 σίν·

ὅς καλῶς μὲν τυμπανίζεις  
 καὶ διαψάλλεις τριγώνοις.

τοῦ δὲ καλουμένου πανδούρου Εὐφορίων μὲν, ὡς προ-  
 εῖρηται, καὶ Πρωταγορίδης ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ τῶν Ἐπὶ  
 Δάφνῃ Πανηγύρεων. Πυθαγόρας δὲ ὁ γεγραφὼς περὶ  
 τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης τοὺς Τρωγλοδύτας φησὶ  
 184 κατασκευάζειν τὴν πανδούραν || ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῇ θαλάσσει  
 φνομένης δάφνης. Τυρρηνῶν δ' ἐστὶν εὖρημα κέρατά

<sup>335</sup> Stephanis #102.

<sup>336</sup> The fragment is quoted again at 14.635c.

## BOOK IV

with all these instruments I have just mentioned, as well as with pipes, and can play them skilfully; if you would like to test me on any of them, I myself will offer you a show, although many other people in my native land are better musicians than I am. My fellow-citizen Alexander<sup>335</sup> (he died not long ago) gave a public show on the instrument referred to as a *trigōnon* and made everyone in Rome so crazy about his music that many of them have memorized his songs. Sophocles also mentions the *trigōnon* in *Myrians* (fr. 412), as follows:<sup>336</sup>

A Phrygian *trigōnos* sounds repeatedly, and the many strings  
of a Lydian *pēktis* accompany it with answering notes.

So too in *Thamyris* (fr. 239). Also Aristophanes in *Banqueters* (fr. 255) and Theopompus in *Penelope* (fr. 50). And Eupolis says in *Dyers* (fr. 88.1–2):

You who play the drum well  
and produce notes on the strings of *trigōna*.

Euphorion refers to the so-called *pandouros*, as was noted earlier,<sup>337</sup> as does Protagorides in Book II of *On the Festivals in Daphne* (FGrH 853 F 2b).<sup>338</sup> The Pythagoras who wrote about the Red Sea says that the Troglodytes make the *pandoura* from the laurel tree that grows in the sea.<sup>339</sup> Horns and trumpets were invented by the Etruscans.

<sup>337</sup> At 4.182e.

<sup>338</sup> Cf. 4.176a–b.

<sup>339</sup> Identified as white mangrove by Hort; cf. Thphr. *HP* 4.7.2 (also discussing the Red Sea).



## BOOK IV

numerous other professionals; because they were impoverished, they taught the subjects they knew and produced many distinguished men.<sup>344</sup> All the ancient Greeks studied music, and pipe-playing was therefore a matter of considerable interest. Chamaeleon of Heraclea, for example, says in his work entitled *The Exhortation* (fr. 3 Wehrli) that all Spartans and Thebans used to learn to play the pipes, as did the Heracleots who lived along the Black Sea in his own day, as well as the most distinguished Athenians, such as Callias son of Hipponicus<sup>345</sup> and Critias son of Callaeschrus.<sup>346</sup> Duris says in his *On Euripides and Sophocles* (FGrH 76 F 29) that Alcibiades did not learn to play the pipes from just anyone but from Pronomus<sup>347</sup>, who had the finest reputation in this area. And Aristoxenus (fr. 96 Wehrli) says that Epameinondas of Thebes<sup>348</sup> learned to play the pipes from Olympiodorus and Orthagoras. Many Pythagoreans also played the pipes, such as Euphranor, Archytas (47 B 6), Philolaus (44 A 7), and quite a few others.<sup>349</sup> Euphranor even left behind a treatise *On Pipe-Playing*, and Archytas did as well. Aristophanes brings out the attention paid to this matter in *Banqueters* (fr. 232), when he says:

<sup>348</sup> The famous general (d. 362 BCE). Thebes was famous for its pipe-players; for Olympiodorus (Stephanis #1936) and Orthagoras (Stephanis #1957), see Nep. *Epam.* 2.1 and Pl. *Prt.* 318c, respectively.

<sup>349</sup> Philolaus of Croton was a contemporary of Socrates; Archytas of Tarentum dates to the first half of the 4th century; and Euphranor (D-K 56.3) is later than Archytas but otherwise almost entirely obscure. Nothing survives of the works referred to below.

ὅστις αὐλοῖς καὶ λύραισι κατατέτριμμαι  
 χρώμενος,  
 f εἶτά με σκάπτειν κελεύεις; |

Φρύνιχος Ἐφιάλτη·

οὐ τουτονὶ μέντοι σὺ κιθαρίζεις ποτὲ  
 αὐλεῖν τ' ἐδίδαξας;

καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίαν δέ φησιν Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Μούσαις  
 ἐπαυλῆσαι τοῖς Διοσκόροις τὸν ἐνόπλιον. Ἴων δ' ἐν  
 Φοίνικι ἢ Καινῇ ἀλέκτορα τὸν αὐλὸν καλεῖ ἐν τούτοις·

ἐπὶ δ' αὐλὸς ἀλέκτωρ  
 Λύδιον ὕμνον ἀχέων.

ἐν δὲ Φρουροῖς τὸν ἀλεκτρυνόνα Ἰδαῖον εἶρηκε σύ-  
 ριγγα διὰ τούτων·

185 ῥοθεῖ δέ τοι σὺριγξ Ἰδαῖος ἀλέκτωρ. ||

ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ Φοίνικι ὁ αὐτὸς Ἴων φησὶν·

ἐκτύπουν ἄγων βαρὺν  
 αὐλὸν τρέχοντι ῥυθμῷ,

οὕτω λέγων τῷ Φρυνγίῳ· βαρὺς γὰρ οὗτος· παρ' ὃ καὶ  
 τὸ κέρας αὐτῷ προσάπτουσιν ἀναλογοῦν τῷ τῶν σαλ-  
 πίγγων κώδωνι.

Ἐπὶ τούτοις τέλος ἐχέτω καὶ ἡδε ἡ βίβλος, ἐταῖρε  
 Τιμόκρατες, ἱκανὸν εἰληφυῖα μῆκος.

## Ε

185 Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ πολὺς οὕτως λόγος συμποσίων πέρι  
 διήντληται, ὦ Τιμόκρατες, ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτων, παρ-  
 ελίπομεν δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ χρησιμώτατα καὶ οὐ βαροῦντα  
 τὴν ψυχὴν, ὠφελοῦντα δὲ καὶ τρέφοντα κατὰ παν-  
 δαισίαν, ἅπερ ὁ θεῖος Ὅμηρος παρεισήγαγε, μνημο-  
 νεύσω καὶ τὰ περὶ τούτων λεχθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ πάντα  
 ἀρίστου Μασουρίου. ἡμεῖς γὰρ κατὰ τὸν καλὸν Ἀγά-  
 θωνα

b τὸ μὲν πάρεργον ἔργον ὥς ποιούμεθα, |  
 τὸ δ' ἔργον ὥς πάρεργον ἐκπονούμεθα.

φησὶ δ' οὖν ὁ ποιητὴς περὶ τοῦ Μενελάου τὸν λόγον  
 ποιούμενος·

τὸν δ' εὖρον δαινύντα γάμον πολλοῖσιν ἔτησιν  
 υἱέος ἠδὲ θυγατρὸς ἀμύμονος ᾧ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ,

ὥς νενόμισται ἄγειν συμπόσια περὶ τοὺς γάμους τῶν  
 τε γαμηλίων θεῶν ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς οἶονεὶ μαρτυρίας. τὸ  
 δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ξένους συμπόσιον ὁ τῆς Λυκίας βασι-  
 c λεὺς διδάσκει οἶον εἶναι δεῖ, τὸν Βελλεροφόντην |  
 μεγαλοπρεπῶς δεξάμενος·

ἐννήμαρ ξείνισσε καὶ ἐννέα βούς ἱέρευσε.

δοκεῖ γὰρ ἔχειν πρὸς φιλίαν τι ὁ οἶνος ἐλκυστικόν, παραθερμαίνων τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ διαχέων. διόπερ οὐδὲ πρότερον ἡρώτων οἵτινες εἶεν ἀλλ' ὕστερον, ὥς τὴν ξενίαν αὐτὴν τιμῶντες, ἀλλ' οὐ τοὺς ἐν μέρει καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἡμῶν. τῶν δὲ νῦν δείπνων προνοοῦντες οἱ νομοθέται τὰ τε φυλετικὰ<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὰ δημοτικὰ προσέταξαν, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς θιάσους καὶ τὰ φρατρικὰ καὶ πάλιν <τὰ> ὀργεωνικὰ λεγόμενα. πολλῶν γοῦν εἰσι  
 186 φιλοσόφων ἐν ἄστει σύνοδοι || τῶν μὲν Διογενιστῶν, τῶν δὲ Ἀντιπατριστῶν λεγομένων, τῶν δὲ Παναιτιαστῶν. κατέλιπε δὲ καὶ Θεόφραστος εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην σύνοδον χρήματα, μὰ Δί' οὐχ ἵνα ἀκολασταίνωσι συνιόντες, ἀλλ' ἵνα τὰ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ συμποσίου νόμον σωφρόνως καὶ πεπαιδευμένως διεξάγωσι. συνεδείπνουν δ' ὅσημέραι οἱ περὶ πρύτανιν σώφρονα καὶ σωτήρια τῶν πόλεων σύνδειπνα. πρὸς γοῦν τοιοῦτο συμπόσιόν φησιν ὁ Δημοσθένης ἀνενηνέχθαι τὴν Ἐλατείας κατάληψιν· ἐσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ἥκε δὲ  
 b ἀγγέλλων τις ὥς | τοὺς πρυτάνεις ὥς Ἐλάτεια κατεί-

<sup>1</sup> φυλετικὰ δείπνα ACE

<sup>2</sup> Dinners organized by a religious association (*orgeōn*).

<sup>3</sup> Diogenes of Babylon, Antipater of Tarsus (mentioned again below), and Panaetius of Rhodes were all 2nd-century BCE heads of the Stoic school, and the city referred to above must therefore be Athens. The reference would appear to date the document from which much of the first section of this Book is drawn—

## BOOK V

losophers also did their best to gather a group of young men and feast them in a prescribed way. Works on the rules for symposia were produced by Xenocrates of the Academy (fr. 50 Isnardi Parente), for example, as well as by Aristotle (fr. 467).<sup>6</sup> The cities organized the common messes in Sparta and the men's meals in Crete very carefully. The anonymous remark is therefore apt:

Friendly companions should not stay away from the  
symposium  
too long; this is the best way to remember one  
another.

The philosopher Antipater (fr. 14, *SVF* iii. 246) once organized a symposium and ordered the men who attended to discuss philosophic quibbles. He<sup>7</sup> says that when Arcesilaus<sup>8</sup> was invited to a symposium and lay down with someone who was gorging himself, he was unable to enjoy any of the food. When one of the guests offered him something, he said:

Bless you; and may Telephus get what I have in mind  
for him.<sup>9</sup>

The fellow gobbling down the food happened to be named Telephus. When one of the gluttons at a party ripped off the upper side of the fish the moment it was served, Zeno (fr. 291, *SVF* i.66) turned it over and ripped off the other side of the fish for himself, saying as he did so (*E. Ba.* 1129)<sup>10</sup>:

<sup>10</sup> From the description of the dismemberment of Pentheus. Cf. 8.344a, where a virtually identical story is told of Bion.

Ἴνὼ δὲ τὰπὶ θάτερ' ἐξειργάζετο.

Σωκράτης δ' ἰδὼν τινα ἀμέτρως τῇ ἐποψήσῃ χρώμενον, “ὦ παρόντες,” ἔφη, “τίς ὑμῶν τῷ μὲν ἄρτῳ ὡς ὄψῳ χρήται, τῷ δ' ὄψῳ ὡς ἄρτῳ;”

Ἡμεῖς δὲ νῦν περὶ τῶν Ὀμηρικῶν συμποσίων λέ-  
 e ξομεν· ἀφορίζει γὰρ αὐτῶν ὁ ποιητῆς χρόνους, |  
 πρόσωπα, αἰτίας. τοῦτο δὲ ὀρθῶς ἀπεμάξατο ὁ Ξενο-  
 φῶν καὶ Πλάτων, οἳ κατ' ἀρχὰς τῶν ξυγγραμμάτων  
 ἐκτίθενται τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ συμποσίου καὶ τίνες οἱ  
 παρόντες. Ἐπίκουρος δὲ οὐ τόπον, οὐ χρόνον ἀφορί-  
 ζει, οὐ προλέγει οὐδέν. δεῖ οὖν μαντεύσασθαι πῶς  
 ποτ' ἄνθρωπος ἐξαπίνης ἔχων κύλिका προβάλλει ζη-  
 τήματα καθάπερ ἐν διατριβῇ λέγων. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ  
 ἄλουτον καὶ κονιορτοῦ ἦκειν πλήρη τινὰ ἐπὶ τὸ συμ-  
 πόσιόν φησιν <ἀπρεπὲς εἶναι>. ἔπειθ' ὁ μὲν Ὅμηρος  
 f ἐκδιδάσκει τίνας κλητέον, | εἰπὼν ὡς τοὺς ἀρίστους τε  
 καὶ ἐντίμους χρὴ καλεῖν·

κίκλησκειν δὲ γέροντας ἀριστῆας Παναχαιῶν.

οὐχ ὄν τρόπον Ἡσίοδος· οὗτος γὰρ ἀξιοῖ καὶ τοὺς  
 γείτονας·

< . . . > μάλιστα καλεῖν, ὅστις σέθεν ἐγγύθι  
 ναίει.

τοῦτο γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς Βοιωτικῆς ἐστὶν ἀναισθησίας

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And Ino completed the work on the other side.

When Socrates (cf. X. *Mem.* 3.14.2–4) saw someone eating excessive amounts of the side-dish, he said: “Fellow guests, which of you is consuming bread as if it were the fanciest dish, and the fanciest dish as if it were bread?”

I will now say something about Homeric symposia; for the poet specifies the times when they are held, the individuals who attend, and the reasons for them. Xenophon (*Smp.* 1.2–4) and Plato (*Smp.* 172a–3a), who explain at the beginning of their treatises why the symposium is held and who is present, are right to imitate this; whereas Epicurus (p. 115 Usener) does not specify the place or the time, or provide any introduction, so that one is forced to divine for oneself how it is that someone is suddenly holding a cup and advancing topics for conversation as if he were speaking in a philosophical school. Aristotle (fr. 50)<sup>11</sup> says that it is inappropriate to attend a symposium unwashed and covered with dust. Next, Homer (*Il.* 2.404) instructs us about whom we ought to invite, saying that one should invite noble individuals in positions of authority:

He summoned the elders, the best of the  
Panachaeans.

This is not Hesiod’s style; he thinks (*Op.* 343) that one’s neighbors should be invited:

In particular invite whoever lives close to you.

This is assuredly a symposium marked by Boeotian stu-

<sup>11</sup> Cf. 5.178f, where the fragment (which seems out of place here) is given in a more complete form.



187 συμπόσιον καὶ τῇ μισανθρωποτάτῃ τῶν παροιμιῶν  
ἀρμόττον· ||

τηλοῦ φίλοι ναίοντες οὐκ εἰσιν φίλοι.

πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἄλογον τόπῳ τὴν φιλίαν καὶ οὐ τρόπῳ  
κρίνεσθαι; τοιγαροῦν παρ' Ὀμήρῳ μετὰ τὸ πιεῖν·

τοῖς δ'<sup>2</sup> ὁ γέρων πάμπρωτος ὑφαίνειν ἤρχετο  
μῆτιν,

παρὰ δὲ τοῖς οὐ τὰ σώφρονα συμπόσια συνάγουσιν

τοῖς δ' ὁ κόλαξ πάμπρωτος ὑφαίνειν ἤρχετο  
μῶκον.

ἔτι δὲ ὁ μὲν Ὀμηρος ἡλικίαις εἰσάγει διαφέροντας  
b καὶ ταῖς προαιρέσεσι τοὺς κεκλημένους, | Νέστορα  
καὶ Αἴαντα καὶ Ὀδυσσέα, τὸ μὲν καθόλου σύμπαντας  
τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντεχομένους, εἶδει δὲ διαφόροις ὁδοῖς  
ὠρμηκότας ἐπ' αὐτήν. ὁ δ' Ἐπίκουρος ἅπαντας εἰσ-  
ήγαγε προφήτας ἀτόμων καὶ ταῦτ' ἔχων παραδείγμα-  
τα τὴν τε τοῦ ποιητοῦ τῶν συμποσίων ποικιλίαν καὶ  
τὴν Πλάτωνός τε καὶ Ξενοφῶντος χάριν. ὦν ὁ μὲν  
Πλάτων τὸν μὲν Ἐρυξίμαχον ἰατρόν, τὸν δὲ Ἀριστο-  
177 φάνη ποιητήν, ἄλλον δ' ἀπ' ἄλλης προαιρέσεως<sup>3</sup> ||  
σπουδάζοντας εἰσήγαγεν, Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ τινὰς ἰδιώ-

<sup>2</sup> δ' is not found in the traditional text of Homer.

<sup>3</sup> For the text problem here (hence the rearrangement), see  
4.177a n.

## BOOK V

pidity<sup>12</sup> and quite in accord with the most misanthropic of proverbs (*App. Prov.* 3.99):

Friends who live far away are not true friends.

Because is it not unreasonable to assess friendship by where someone is rather than by what they are like? In Homer (*Il.* 7.324), accordingly, after the drinking

The old man first of all began to weave a plan for them.

Whereas for those who celebrate immodest symposia (*adesp. parod. fr.* 3 Olson–Sens = *incert. fr.* 1 Brandt)

The parasite first of all began to weave flattery for them.

Furthermore, Homer introduces guests who differ in their ages and interests, such as Nestor, Ajax, and Odysseus, who are all utterly devoted to excellence (*aretē*) but pursue it by different paths. Whereas Epicurus' (p. 115 Usener) characters are all atom-prophets<sup>13</sup>, despite the fact that he had as paradigms the poet's various types of symposia, as well as the graceful work of Plato and Xenophon. Of these men, Plato introduced the physician Eryximachus, the poet Aristophanes, and various other people with different interests into his account, while Xenophon mixed in

<sup>12</sup> Hesiod was from Boeotia.

<sup>13</sup> I.e. adherents of the atomist theories most often associated with Democritus.

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Is this not laughable, given that the bull was slaughtered in plain sight and everyone was aware of it? And why would he have come, if he did not know? Or, he says, by Zeus Perispōmenos<sup>17</sup>, does he claim that Menelaus knew about the feast, forgave his brother for not inviting him, and accommodated himself to the situation by coming of his own accord?—which is the same as saying that he came uninvited, so that they would not scowl at each other the next morning, one of them out of shame, the other out of resentment. It would be ridiculous, however, for Agamemnon to forget about his brother, especially because it was on his account that he not only was making sacrifice at the moment but had undertaken the war, and despite the fact that he had invited people who were not related to him by birth and had no connection with his fatherland. Athenocles of Cyzicus, who understands Homeric poetry better than Aristarchus does, offers what we consider the more scholarly explanation, that Homer passed over Menelaus since he was too closely related to Agamemnon for an invitation to be necessary. Demetrius of Phaleron (fr. 190 Wehrli = fr. 143 Fortenbaugh–Schütrumpf) pronounced the interpolation of the line awkward and foreign to the poet's style, saying that (*Il.* 2.409)

For he knew in his heart that his brother was  
troubled

attributes pettiness to the characters. Because I believe, he says, that every refined person has a relative or friend he could visit when a sacrifice occurs without waiting for the other man to invite him. Plato in his *Symposium* (174b–c) says the following about the same matters: So that, he says, we may change and thus corrupt the proverb, so that it says

θῶν ἐπὶ δαΐτας ἴασιν αὐτόματοι ἀγαθοί. Ὅμηρος μὲν γὰρ κινδυνεύει οὐ μόνον διαφθεῖραι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑβρίσαι εἰς αὐτήν· ποιήσας γὰρ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ἀγαθὸν τὰ πολεμικά, τὸν Μενέλαον δὲ μαλθακὸν αἰχμητήν, θυσίαν ποιουμένου τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ἄκλητον ἐποίη-  
 b σεν ἐλθόντα | τὸν χείρονα ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀμείνωνος δίαιταν. Βακχυλίδης δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους λέγων ὡς ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Κήρκος οἶκόν φησιν·

σταῖ δ' ἐπὶ λάινον οὐδόν, τοὶ δὲ θοίνας ἔντυον,  
 ᾧδ' ἔφα·

“αὐτόματοι δ' ἀγαθῶν  
 <ἐς> δαΐτας εὐόχθους ἐπέρχονται δίκαιοι  
 φῶτες.”

αἱ δὲ παροιμῖαι ἡ μὲν φησιν·

αὐτόματοι δ' ἀγαθοὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ δαΐτας ἴασιν,  
 ἡ δέ·

αὐτόματοι <δ'> ἀγαθοὶ δειλῶν ἐπὶ δαΐτας ἴασιν.

c οὐ δεόντως γοῦν Πλάτων τὸν Μενέλεων | ἐνόμισεν εἶναι δειλόν, ὃν ἀρηνίφιλον Ὅμηρος λέγει καὶ μόνον ὑπὲρ Πατρόκλου ἀριστεύσαντα καὶ τῷ Ἑκτορι πρὸ πάντων πρόθυμον μονομαχεῖν, καίπερ ὄντα τῇ ῥώμῃ καταδεέστερον, ἐφ' οὗ μόνου τῶν στρατευσαμένων εἴρηκεν·

## BOOK V

that good people go uninvited to meals given by good people. For Homer comes close to not just corrupting but abusing it; because he represents Agamemnon as a brave man in anything having to do with war, but Menelaus as a "cowardly spearman" (*Il.* 17.588);<sup>18</sup> but when Agamemnon was making a sacrifice, he represented the lesser man as going uninvited to the better man's residence. When Bacchylides (fr. 4.21–5) describes how Heracles came to Ceyx's house, he says:

He stood at the stone threshold, and they were  
preparing a feast; and he said the following:  
"Of their own accord just  
men come to the rich meals of good  
men."

One proverb says:

Good men go to good men's feasts of their own  
accord.<sup>19</sup>

Another says:

Good men go to cowards' feasts of their own accord.

There was no need, at any rate, for Plato to consider Menelaus a coward, since Homer (*Il.* 17.1–8) refers to him as *arēiphilos* ("war-loving") and says that he was the only man who distinguished himself in the fight over the dead Patroclus and (*Il.* 7.94–105) was eager to fight a duel with Hector in front of everyone, although he was not as strong as him. Menelaus is also the only member of the expedition about whom Homer says (*Il.* 2.588):

<sup>19</sup> Cf. 1.8a.

ἐν δ' αὐτὸς κίεν ᾗσι προθυμίῃσι πεποιθώς.

εἰ δὲ ὁ ἐχθρὸς ὁ βλασφημῶν αὐτὸν εἴρηκε μαλθακὸν αἰχμητὴν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Πλάτων τῷ ὄντι μαλθακὸν αὐτὸν ὑπολαμβάνει, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοι καὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέ-  
d μνονα τιθεὶς ἐν τοῖς φαύλοις, ὃν | αὐτός φησιν εἶναι ἀγαθόν, εἴπερ εἰς αὐτὸν εἴρηται τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος·

οἰνοβαρές, κυνὸς ὄμματ' ἔχων, κραδίην δ'  
ἐλάφοιο.

οὐ γὰρ εἴ τι λέγεται παρ' Ὀμήρῳ, τοῦθ' Ὅμηρος λέγει. πῶς γὰρ ἂν εἴη μαλθακὸς Μενέλαος ὁ τὸν Ἔκτορα μόνος ἀπείρξας τοῦ Πατρόκλου καὶ Εὐφρο-  
βον ἀποκτείνας τε καὶ σκυλεύσας ἐν μέσοις τοῖς Τρωσὶ; τὸ δὲ μηδὲ τὸν στίχον ὃν ᾗτιᾶτο τελείως  
e κατανοῆσαι ἄτοπον, δι' οὗ | βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος λέγεται. τοῖς γὰρ ἀνδρειοτάτοις Ὅμηρος εἴωθεν ἐπι-  
φωνεῖν, καλούντων τῶν παλαιῶν τὸν πόλεμον βοήν.

Πάντα δ' ὧν ἀκριβὴς Ὅμηρος καὶ τὸ μικρὸν τοῦτο οὐ παρέλιπε τὸ δεῖν θεραπεύσαντα τὸ σωματίον καὶ λουσάμενον ἵεναι πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον. ἐπὶ γοῦν τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως εἶπε πρὸ τῆς παρὰ Φαίαξι θοίνης·

f αὐτόδιον δ' ἄρα μιν ταμίη λούσασθαι ἄνωγεν<sup>4</sup>. |

ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν περὶ Τηλέμαχον·

<sup>4</sup> The traditional text of Homer has ἀνώγει.



## BOOK V

He himself moved among them, confident in his courage.

And if his enemy slanders him by referring to him (*Il.* 17.588) as a “weak spearman,” and Plato on that account suspects that he actually was weak, he would not hesitate to include Agamemnon, who he himself claims was brave, among the worst men, given that the following line is spoken about him (*Il.* 1.225):<sup>20</sup>

Heavy with wine, with a dog’s eyes and a deer’s heart!

Because if something is said in Homer, it is not necessarily Homer who says it. For how could Menelaus be weak, given that all by himself he kept Hector away from Patroclus, killed Euphorbus, and stripped him of his gear with the Trojans all around?<sup>21</sup> But that he has not thought carefully though the line, in which Menelaus is referred to as “good at the war-cry” (*boēn agathos*), is curious; for Homer’s practice was to use this phrase for his bravest characters, since the ancients referred to war as *boē*.<sup>22</sup>

Since Homer is precise about everything, he did not omit the following small point, which is that one ought to take care of one’s body and bathe before going to dinner. He said of Odysseus, for example, before the feast given by the Phaeacians (*Od.* 8.449):

At once, then, the housekeeper urged him to wash himself.

And concerning Telemachus’ group (*Od.* 4.48):

<sup>20</sup> Achilleus is speaking.  
summary of the action in *Iliad* 17.

<sup>21</sup> A somewhat inaccurate  
<sup>22</sup> E.g. Theoc. 16.97.



ἔς ῥ' ἀσαμίνθους βάντες ἐνξέστας λούσαντο.

ἀπρεπές γὰρ ἦν, φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης, ἦκειν εἰς τὸ  
 συμπόσιον σὺν ἰδρώτι πολλῷ καὶ κονιορτῷ· δεῖ γὰρ  
 τὸν χαρίεντα μήτε ῥυπᾶν μήτε αὐχμεῖν μήτε βορβόρῳ  
 χαίρειν καθ' Ἡράκλειτον. δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν πρῶτον εἰς  
 179 ἀλλοτρίαν οἰκίαν ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ δεῖπνον μὴ γαστρι-  
 σόμενον || εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸ συμπόσιον χωρεῖν, ἀλλὰ τι  
 δοῦναι πρότερον τῷ φιλοθεάμονι καὶ κατανοῆσαι τὴν  
 οἰκίαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτο παρέλιπεν ὁ ποιητής·

αὐτοὶ δ' εἰσῆλθον<sup>5</sup> θεῖον δόμον· οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες  
 θαύμαζον κατὰ δῶμα διοτρεφέος βασιλῆος.  
 ὥς τε γὰρ ἡελίου αἴγλη πέλεν ἡὲ σελήνης  
 δῶμα καθ' ὑψερεφές Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο.

καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Σφηξὶ ποιεῖ τὸν ἄγριον γέροντα  
 b καὶ φιλοδικαστὴν καταρρυθμιζόμενον εἰς βίον | ἡμε-  
 ρον ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδός·

παῦ· ἀλλὰ δευρὶ κατακλινεῖς προσμάνθανε  
 ξυμποτικὸς εἶναι καὶ ξυνουσιαστικός.

διδάξας τε αὐτὸν ὥς δεῖ κατακλίνεσθαί φησιν·

ἔπειτ' ἐπαίνεσόν τι τῶν χαλκωμάτων,  
 ὀροφὴν θέασαι, κρεκάδι' αὐλῆς θαύμασον.

<sup>5</sup> The traditional text of Homer has αὐτοὺς δ' εἰσῆγον.

## BOOK V

They entered the polished bathtubs and washed themselves.

Because it was inappropriate, says Aristotle (fr. 50), to come to the symposium covered with sweat and dust; the refined person should not be dirty or unwashed, or take pleasure in muck, as Heracleitus (22 B 13) puts it. The minute you arrive at another person's house for dinner, you should not head straight for the symposium to stuff yourself, but should instead offer something to your contemplative faculty and examine the house. Because the poet (*Od.* 4.43–6) did not leave this out:

They themselves entered the divine house and were  
amazed  
as they gazed throughout the home of the Zeus-  
nourished king.  
For like the light that shines from the sun or the  
moon  
was the light throughout the high-roofed house of  
famous Menelaus.

And Aristophanes in *Wasps* (1208–9) represents the fierce old man devoted to jury-duty as being converted to a tame way of life by his son:

Cut it out! Lie down here and learn  
how to behave at symposia and in company!

Again, after teaching him how he ought to lie down, he says (1214–15):

Then praise one of the bronze objects;  
take a look at the ceiling; express your amazement at  
the tapestries in the hall.

Καὶ πρὸ τοῦ θοινᾶσθαι δὲ ἅ δεῖ ποιεῖν ἡμᾶς δι-  
 δάσκει πάλιν Ὅμηρος, ἀπαρχὰς τῶν βρωμάτων νέ-  
 c μιν τοῖς θεοῖς. οἱ γοῦν περὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα καίπερ |  
 ὄντες ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κύκλωπος σπηλαίῳ·

ἔνθα δὲ πῦρ κείαντες ἐθύσαμεν ἡδὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ  
 τυρῶν αἰνύμενοι φάγομεν.

καὶ ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς καίπερ ἐπείγομένων τῶν πρέσβων ὥς  
 ἐν μέσαις νυξὶν ἡκόντων ὅμως

θεοῖσι δὲ θῦσαι ἀνώγει  
 Πάτροκλον, ὃν ἐταῖρον· ὁ δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλε  
 θηλάς.

καὶ σπονδοποιεῖται γὰρ τοὺς δαιτυμόνας·

d κοῦροι μὲν κρητῆρας ἐπεστέψαντο ποτοῖο, |  
 νώμησαν δ' ἄρα πᾶσιν ἐπαρξάμενοι δεπάεσσιν.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ σπείσαν τ'.

ἅπερ καὶ Πλάτων φυλάσσει κατὰ τὸ συμπόσιον· μετὰ  
 γὰρ τὸ δειπνῆσαι σπονδὰς τέ φησιν ποιῆσαι καὶ τὸν  
 θεὸν παιωνίσαντας τοῖς νομιζομένοις γέρασι. παρα-  
 πλησίως δὲ καὶ Ξενοφῶν, παρὰ δ' Ἐπικούρῳ οὐ σπον-  
 δή, οὐκ ἀπαρχὴ θεοῖς, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ Σιμωνίδης ἔφη  
 περὶ τῆς ἀκόσμου γυναικός,

e ἄθυστα δ' ἱρὰ πολλάκις κατεσθίει. |

## BOOK V

Moreover Homer teaches us what we ought to do before we feast, which is to offer the gods first fruits of the food. Although Odysseus' men, for example, are in the Cyclops' cave (*Od.* 9.231–2),

We kindled a fire there and made sacrifice: and we  
ourselves  
took some of the cheeses and ate them.

And although the members of the embassy are in a hurry and have come in the middle of the night, Achilles nonetheless (*Il.* 9.219–20)

orders his companion Patroclus  
to make a sacrifice to the gods. And he threw the  
gods' portion in the fire.

He also represents diners as making libations (*Il.* 9.175–7):

The young men filled the mixing-bowls to the brim  
with wine  
and distributed it, pouring a libation in everyone's  
goblet.

But after they poured libations . . .

Plato (*Smp.* 176a) retains these elements in his symposium; after they had dinner, he says, they made libations and sang a paeon to the god, giving him his customary honors. Xenophon (*Smp.* 2.1) says something similar. In Epicurus (p. 115 Usener), on the other hand, there is no libation or offering of first fruits to the gods, but as Simonides (Semon. fr. 7.56 West<sup>2</sup>) said about the disorderly woman,

She often consumes the offerings before the sacrifice  
is complete.

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They say<sup>23</sup> that the Athenians learned the proper way to mix wine from Amphictyon when he was their king, and that as a result they founded a temple of Upright Dionysus; because he is in fact upright and not stumbling when drunk<sup>24</sup> in a moderate mixture.

For the crazy wine  
urges me to. It encourages even a thoughtful man to  
sing much  
and to laugh softly, and it causes him to dance  
and also elicits a word that was better left unspoken.  
(*Od.* 14.463–6)

Homer does not refer to wine as “crazy” in the sense that it is foolish or encourages thoughtless behavior; nor is he ordering us to scowl, or to refuse to sing, laugh, or occasionally dance along with music. He is not that unrefined or clumsy, but understands the distinctions of quantity and quality in all these matters. He accordingly did not say that wine makes a thoughtful man sing, but that it makes him “sing much,” which is to say too loud and too long, so that he annoys people. Nor, by Zeus, does he simply say “to laugh” or “to dance”; instead he takes the word “softly” with both verbs<sup>25</sup> and tries to restrain the effeminate tendency toward this sort of thing:

and it causes him to laugh softly and to dance (*Od.*  
14.465).

<sup>23</sup> At 2.38c, this information is attributed to Philochorus (*FGrH* 328 F 5b). <sup>24</sup> Sc. in the form of wine.

<sup>25</sup> This is to say that there ought to be no comma in the middle of line 465 and it ought to be translated as it is below.

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In Plato none of this is done in a moderate way; instead, they drink so much that they cannot stand on their own feet (*Smp.* 212d). Look how disgracefully Alcibiades behaves when he wanders in drunk, while the others drain a cooler that holds 8 *kotulai*<sup>26</sup> and offer the excuse that Alcibiades led them to do it (*Smp.* 213e–14a). Homer's characters behave differently:

But after they poured a libation and drank as much as  
their heart desired. (e.g. *Il.* 9.177)

Some of these behaviors, therefore, must be unequivocally ruled out, but others can be indulged in moderation, if we regard them as a bit like extras (*anathēmata*) of a sort, as Homer (*Od.* 1.152) says:

song and dance; for these are the extras (*anathēmata*)  
that go with a feast.

Homer generally assigned everything that tends in this direction to the Suitors and the Phaeacians, and not to Nestor and Menelaus. As for the wedding celebrated by the latter, Aristarchus<sup>27</sup> did not understand that, because the feasting went on constantly and the most significant days, during which the bride<sup>28</sup> was taken home by the bridegroom and Megapenthes' wedding was complete, were over, Menelaus and Helen were alone in the house. Because he did not understand this, but was deceived by the first verse (*Od.* 4.3),

<sup>28</sup> Hermione, Menelaus' daughter by Helen, who was being sent to Achilles' son Neoptolemus, whereas Menelaus' bastard son Megapenthes was marrying "Alector's daughter from Sparta."

# ATHENAEUS

τὸν δ' εὖρον δαινύντα γάμον πολλοῖσιν ἔτησιν,

d προσσυνῆψαν τοιούτους τινὰς στίχους· |

ὥς οἱ μὲν δαίνυντο καθ' ὑπερεφές μέγα δῶμα  
γείτονες ἡδὲ ἔται Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο  
τερπόμενοι· μετὰ δέ σφιν ἐμέλπετο θεῖος ἀοιδὸς  
φορμίζων· δοιὼ δὲ κυβιστητῆρε κατ' αὐτοὺς  
μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντες ἐδίνεον κατὰ μέσσους,

μετενεγκόντες ἐκ τῆς Ὀπλοποιίας σὺν αὐτῷ γε τῷ  
περὶ τὴν λέξιν ἀμαρτήματι. οὐ γὰρ ἐξάρχοντες οἱ  
κυβιστητῆρες, ἀλλ' ἐξάρχοντος τοῦ ᾠδοῦ πάντως ᾠρ-  
e χοῦντο. τὸ γὰρ ἐξάρχειν τῆς φόρμιγγος ἴδιον. | διόπερ  
ὁ μὲν Ἡσίοδος φησιν ἐν τῇ Ἀσπίδι·

θεαὶ δ' ἐξῆρχον ἀοιδῆς

Μοῦσαι Πιερίδες,

καὶ ὁ Ἀρχίλοχος·

αὐτὸς ἐξάρχων πρὸς αὐλὸν Λέσβιον παιήονα.

καλεῖ δὲ Στησίχορος μὲν τὴν Μοῦσαν ἀρχεσίμολπον,  
Πίνδαρος δ' ἀγησίχορα τὰ προοίμια. Διόδωρος δ' ὁ  
Ἀριστοφάνειος ὅλον τὸν γάμον περιέγραψε τοπάζων  
πρώτας ἡμέρας εἶναι, καὶ τὸ λῆγον αὐτῶν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ



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They found him giving a wedding feast for many  
kinsmen,

he added some lines of the following sort (*Od.* 4.15–19):

So the neighbors and kinsmen of famous Menelaus  
were feasting throughout his great high-roofed home,  
enjoying themselves. Among them a divine bard was  
singing  
and playing the lyre. And a pair of tumblers separate  
from the others  
led (*exarchontes*) the song, whirling about among  
them,

borrowing the lines from *The Forging of the Arms* (*Il.* 18.604–6, quoted below), along with the error in the language; because it was not the tumblers who led (*exarchontes*), but they danced while the singer, of course, led (*exarchontos*). For leading (*exarchein*) is an action peculiar to the lyre. This is why Hesiod says in *The Shield* (205–6):

and the goddesses, the Pierian Muses,  
led (*exērchon*) the song.

Also Archilochus (fr. 121 West<sup>2</sup>):

I myself leading (*exarchōn*) the Lesbian paeon  
accompanied by pipes.

Stesichorus (*PMG* 250) refers to the Muse as *archesimolpos* (“song-leading”), while Pindar (*P.* 1.4) calls his preludes *hagēsichora* (“dance-leading”). Aristophanes’ student Diodorus marked the entire wedding as spurious, hypothesizing that these were the initial days, and taking no account of the fact that they were coming to a close, or

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of the possibility that it was the very end of the symposium. He then suggests that we write:

... and a pair of tumblers separate from the others  
(*kath' heautous*)<sup>29</sup> (*Od.* 4.18),

with the rough breathing, forcing us into a solecism<sup>30</sup>, since *kat' autous*<sup>31</sup> means "separate from the others," and using *heautous*<sup>32</sup> is a solecism. But as I was saying, the introduction of entertainment into this sober symposium is an interpolation borrowed from the Cretan chorus, about which Homer says in *The Forging of the Arms* (*Il.* 18.590–4):

The famous crippled god worked a dancing-place  
into it,  
like the one Daedalus once made  
in wide Cnossus for Ariadne of the lovely tresses.  
Young men and unmarried girls whose bride-price  
was many oxen  
were dancing there, holding one another's hands at  
the wrist.

And he adds to these verses (*Il.* 18.603–6):

A large crowd surrounded the lovely chorus,  
enjoying themselves. Among them a divine bard was  
singing  
and playing the lyre. And a pair of tumblers separate  
from the others  
led the song, whirling about among them.

<sup>31</sup> As in the traditional version of the text.

<sup>32</sup> The reflexive form of the pronoun ("themselves").

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Dancing and tumbling are indigenous among the Cretans, which is why he says to the Cretan Meriones (*Il.* 16.617–18):

Meriones, even if you are a dancer, my spear would  
have  
stopped you once and for all, if I had hit you.

This is why they refer to certain combinations of song and dance as “Cretan” (*Pi.* fr. \*107b.2):

They refer to the style as Cretan, but the instrument  
as Molossian.

According to Timaeus (*FGrH* 566 F 140), the so-called *Lakōnistai* (“Sparta-imitators”) sang in rectangular choruses. Greek music was generally diverse, given that the Athenians preferred Dionysiac and cyclic choruses,<sup>33</sup> the Syracusans preferred iambic poets, and other peoples preferred other things. Aristarchus not only added verses to Menelaus’ symposium that did not belong there, making it foreign to the Spartan way of life and the king’s sober-mindedness, but also removed the singer from the Cretan chorus, cutting the passage down in the following way (*Il.* 18.603–6):

A large crowd surrounded the lovely chorus,  
enjoying themselves. And a pair of tumblers separate  
from the others  
led the song, whirling about among them.

The result is that *exarchontes* (“leading”) remains an impossible problem, since the word can no longer be made to

<sup>33</sup> Dramatic and dithyrambic choruses, respectively.

διότι δὲ οὐ πιθανὸν ἀκρόαμα παρὰ τῷ Μενελάῳ τυγ-  
 χάνειν δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ δι' ὁμιλίας ὅλον τὸ συμπόσιον  
 e περαίνεσθαι τῆς | πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὄνομα δὲ μηδὲν  
 εἰρήσθαι τοῦ ὥδοῦ μηδὲ ὥδην ἣν ἦδε μηδὲ προσέχειν  
 τοὺς περὶ Τηλέμαχον αὐτῷ, καθάπερ δ' ἐν σιωπῇ τινι  
 καὶ ἡρεμία κατανοεῖν μᾶλλον τὸν οἶκον· καίτοι γε πῶς  
 οὐκ ἀπίθανον τοὺς τῶν φρονιμωτάτων νιέας Ὀδυσ-  
 σέως καὶ Νέστορος ἐπαριστέρους εἰσάγεσθαι, ὥστε  
 τρόπον ἀγροίκων τινῶν μὴ προσέχειν τοῖς παρεσκευ-  
 ασμένοις ἀκροάμασιν; ὁ γοῦν Ὀδυσσεὺς προσέχει  
 τοῖς τῶν Φαιάκων ἄσματοποιοῖς·

f αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς |  
 μαρμαρυγὰς θηεῖτο ποδῶν, θαύμαζε δὲ θυμῷ,  
 καίπερ ἔχων πολλὰ τὰ περιέλκοντα καὶ δυνάμενος  
 εἰπεῖν·

κήδεά μοι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ἢ περ αἰοδαί<sup>9</sup>.

πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἂν ἀβέλτερος εἴη ὁ Τηλέμαχος ὥδοῦ  
 παρόντος καὶ κυβιστητῆρος προσκύπτων πρὸς τὸν  
 Πεισίστρατον καὶ τῶν σκευῶν διατιθέμενος; ἀλλ'  
 182 Ὅμηρος || ὥσπερ ἀγαθὸς ζωγράφος πάντα ὅμοιον τῷ  
 πατρὶ τὸν Τηλέμαχον παρίστησι πεποίηκεν γοῦν

<sup>9</sup> The traditional text of Homer has ἄεθλοι.

ἀμφοτέρους τὸν μὲν τῷ Ἀλκινόῳ, τὸν δὲ τῷ Μενελάῳ  
διὰ δακρύων γνωρίζομένους.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἐπικουρείῳ Συμποσίῳ κολάκων ἐστὶν  
ἄγυρις ἀλλήλους ἐπαινούντων, τὸ δὲ Πλάτωνος πλή-  
ρές ἐστιν μυκτηριστῶν ἀλλήλους τωθαζόντων· τὸν  
γὰρ περὶ Ἀλκιβιάδου λόγον σιωπῶ. παρὰ δ' Ὀμήρῳ  
συγκεκρότηται τὰ σώφρονα συμπόσια. καὶ ποτε μὲν  
b ἐπήνεσέ τις φήσας πρὸς τὸν Μενέλαον | ὥς οὐ τολμᾷ  
λέγειν

ἄντα σέθεν, τοῦ νῶι θεοῦ ὥς τερπόμεθ' αὐδῇ.

ὁ δ' ἐπελάβετό τινος τῶν οὐκ ὀρθῶς λεγομένων ἢ  
γιγνομένων·

καὶ νῦν, εἴ τί που ἔστι, πίθοιό μοι· οὐ γὰρ  
ἐγώ γε  
τέρπομ' ὀδυρόμενος μεταδόρπιος.

ὁ δὲ πάλιν·

187b Τηλέμαχε, ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων; ||

οὔτε γὰρ κόλακα πρέπον ἐστὶν εἶναι οὔτε μυκτη-  
c ριστήν. πάλιν Ἐπίκουρος ἐν | τῷ Συμποσίῳ ζητεῖ περὶ  
δυσπεψίας ὥστ' οἰωνίσασθαι, εἰθ' ἐξῆς περὶ πυρετῶν.

<sup>35</sup> In fact Odysseus is not recognized by Alcinoos, although the hero's tears lead the king to ask more forcefully about his anonymous guest's identity than he has up to this point; and Helen names Telemachus before Menelaus has a chance to do so (Od. 4.138-54).

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(*Od.* 8.521–34) and Telemachus by Menelaus (*Od.* 4.113–19).<sup>35</sup>

Epicurus' *Symposium* (p. 115 Usener) is made up of a crowd of flatterers who praise one another, while Plato's is full of sneerers mocking each other; I pass over in silence what is said about Alcibiades.<sup>36</sup> In Homer, on the other hand, moderate symposia are organized. At one point (*Od.* 4.160) someone<sup>37</sup> praised Menelaus and said to him that he did not dare to speak

to your face, since the two of us delight in your voice  
as in a god's.

And he attacked anything not said or done properly (*Od.* 4.193–4):

And now, if this might be, do what I say; because I  
for my part  
take no joy in tears after dinner.

He says again (*Od.* 3.230):

Telemachus, what sort of a word escaped the fence of  
your teeth?

For one ought to be neither a flatterer nor a sneerer. Again, Epicurus (fr. 57 Usener) poses questions in his *Symposium* about indigestion as a means of obtaining omens, and then immediately after this discusses fevers. Why should I

<sup>36</sup> A reference to the description of his extreme drunkenness at *Smp.* 212d–e?

<sup>37</sup> Both this quotation and the one that follows are spoken by Peisistratus, while the speaker at *Od.* 3.230 is Athena disguised as Mentor.

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even mention the lack of discipline that permeates his style? As for Plato—I ignore the man who was troubled by hiccoughs and cured by gargling water, as well as by tickling his nose with a piece of straw to make him sneeze (*Smp.* 185d–e); for he wanted to mock and ridicule people—he makes fun of Agathon’s balanced clauses and antitheses (*Smp.* 194e–7e), and brings in Alcibiades saying that he is afflicted with lust (*Smp.* 217a–d, 218b–19d). But even though they write things like this, they expel Homer from their cities.<sup>38</sup> As Demochares (fr. I.3, vol. II.342 Baiter–Sauppe) said,<sup>39</sup> a spearhead cannot be made out of savory, and neither can a good man be produced from words like these. It is not just Alcibiades he mocks, but also Charmides, Euthydemus<sup>40</sup>, and many other young men; this marks him as someone intent on ridiculing the city of Athens, the *Mouseion* (“shrine of the Muses”) of Greece, which Pindar (fr. 76.2) called

the stay of Greece,

while Thucydides refers to it in his epigram on Euripides (*AP* 7.45.3 = *FGE* 1054) as

the Greece of Greece,

and the Pythian god (Delphic Oracle Q198 Fontenrose) said that it was the Greeks’ hearth and *prytaneion* (“civic center”).<sup>41</sup> Plato himself reveals the reason he brings these false charges against the young men.<sup>42</sup> For as for

<sup>41</sup> Cf. 6.254b.

<sup>42</sup> Although Athenaeus (or Herodicus, whose work he is excerpting) does not say so explicitly, the point seems to be that Socrates’ motives (which are jumbled together here with Plato’s) involved sexual resentment and the like.



βιάδην φησὶν ἐν τῷ ὁμωνύμῳ διαλόγῳ παρακμά-  
 σαντα τότε πρῶτον ἄρξασθαι Σωκράτει λαλεῖν ὅτε  
 πάντες αὐτὸν κατέλιπον οἱ τοῦ σώματος ἐπιθυμηταί.  
 λέγει γὰρ ταῦτα κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ διαλόγου. τὰ δ' ἐν τῷ  
 Χαρμίδῃ ἐναντιώματα ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ διαλόγου ὁ βου-  
 λόμενος εἴσεται. ποιεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀσυμφώνως ποτὲ  
 f μὲν σκοτοδινιῶντα καὶ μεθυσκόμενον τῷ τοῦ | παιδὸς  
 ἔρωτι καὶ γινόμενον ἔξεδρον καὶ καθάπερ νεβρὸν  
 ὑποπεπτωκότα λέοντος ἀλκῇ, ἅμα δὲ καταφρονεῖν  
 φησι τῆς ὥρας αὐτοῦ.

Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ Ξενοφῶντος Συμπόσιον καίπερ  
 ἐπαινούμενον οὐκ ἐλάττους ἔχει τούτων ἐπιλήψεις.  
 Καλλίας μὲν γὰρ συνάγει τὸ συμπόσιον, ἐπειδήπερ  
 τὰ παιδικὰ αὐτοῦ Αὐτόλυκος Παναθήναια παγκράτιον  
 ἐστεφανώθη. καὶ εὐθὺς οἱ κατακλιθέντες τῷ παιδί  
 προσέχουσι τὸν νοῦν καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ πατρὸς παρα-  
 188 καθημένον. || ὥσπερ γὰρ ὅταν φέγγος ἐν νυκτὶ παρῇ  
 πάντων προσάγεται τὰ ὄμματα, οὕτω καὶ τὸ Αὐτο-  
 λύκου κάλλος πάντων ἐφέλκεται τὰς ὄψεις ἐφ' ἑαυτό.  
 ἔπειτα τῶν παρόντων οὐδεὶς ἦν ὃς οὐκ ἔπασχέ τι τὴν  
 ψυχὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνου· οἱ μὲν γε σιωπηλότεροι ἐγίγνοντο,  
 οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐσχηματίζοντό πως. ἀλλ' οὐχ Ὅμηρος  
 τοιοῦτόν τι εἰπεῖν ἐπεχείρησε καίπερ τῆς Ἑλένης  
 παρούσης, περὶ ἧς τοῦ κάλλους τις τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτῇ  
 b τοιαῦτ' εἶπεν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκνικώμενος· |

οὐ νέμεσις Τρῶας καὶ ἐκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς

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Alcibiades, he says in the dialogue that bears his name (*Alc. I* 103a–b) that he first started to talk to Socrates when he was past his prime and everyone who lusted after his body had abandoned him; he says this at the beginning of the dialogue. And anyone who wants to can detect the contradictions in the *Charmides* from the dialogue itself; because he represents Socrates inconsistently, sometimes as dizzy and drunk with his love for the boy, and as out of his mind and like a fawn overcome by a powerful lion (*Chrm.* 155c–d), while he claims at the same time that he felt contempt for the boy's beauty (cf. *Chrm.* 154d–e).

Xenophon's *Symposium* as well, despite the praise it receives, has even more points that require censure. For Callias assembles the group, because his boy-love Autolycus was victorious in the *pancratation* at the Panathenaic games (1.2); and the minute they lie down, they fix their attention on the boy, even though his father is sitting next to him. (1.9) For just as when a light appears at night and attracts everyone's eyes, so Autolycus' beauty drew everyone's glances to itself. The soul of everyone present was affected somehow by him; some of them grew quieter, while others altered their posture a bit. But Homer made no effort to say anything like this, even though Helen was present, about whose beauty one of her enemies said something along the following lines (*Il.* 3.156–8), since the truth got the better of him:

It is no cause for resentment that the Trojans and the  
well-greaved Achaeans

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suffer griefs for a long time for a woman like this;  
she is remarkably like the immortal goddesses in  
appearance.

Then he says (*Il.* 3.159):

But even so, whatever she is, let her go home in the  
ships!

The boys visiting Menelaus, that is Nestor's son and Telemachus, even though they are drinking wine and spending time at a wedding symposium, and even though Helen is sitting next to them, keep quiet, as they should, having been struck dumb in the face of her notorious beauty. But why does Socrates put up with the pipe-girls and the boy who dances and plays the lyre (*X. Smp.* 2.1–2), as well as the woman who does indecent tumbling tricks (*X. Smp.* 2.8, 11), but refuse the perfume (*X. Smp.* 2.3)? Because no one who had the following verses (*Ar. Nu.* 103–4) in mind would have put up with his behavior without laughing:

You're talking about the guys with pale complexions  
and no shoes,  
including the miserable Socrates and Chaerephon.

What follows is also inconsistent with his austerity. For (*X. Smp.* 4.19–20) Critobulus, a quick-witted boy, mocks Socrates, who is an old man and his own teacher, and claims that he is much uglier than the silens. But Socrates proposes a beauty contest with the boy, selects him and the dancing-girl as judges, and proposes that the prize be the right to kiss them. What young man, therefore, who en-

τούτοις οὐκ ἐπιτριβήσεται μᾶλλον ἥπερ εἰς ἀρετὴν  
<ἂν> προαχθείη;

Παρά δ' Ὀμήρῳ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Μενελάου συμποσίῳ  
προβάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις ὥσπερ ἐν διατριβῇ ζητή-  
e ματα καὶ πολιτικῶς ὁμιλοῦντες τέρπουσιν | ἀλλήλους  
καὶ ἡμᾶς. ὁ γοῦν Μενέλαος παραγενομένων ἐκ τοῦ  
λουτρῶνος τῶν περὶ τὸν Τηλέμαχον καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν  
ἐδωδὴν παρατεθέντων παρακαλεῖ μεταλαμβάνειν λέ-  
γων τάδε·

σίτου δ' ἄπτεσθον καὶ χαίρετον. αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα  
δείπνου παυσαμένῳ<sup>10</sup> εἰρησόμεθ' οἳ τινές ἐστόν.

ἔπειτα προσεπιδίδωσι τῶν παρακειμένων αὐτῷ φιλαν-  
θρωπευόμενος·

ὥς φάτο, καὶ σφιν νῶτα βοὸς παρὰ πίονα  
f θῆκεν |  
ὅπτ' ἐν χερσὶν ἐλών, τά ῥά οἱ γέρα πάρθεσαν  
αὐτῷ.

φαγόντες δ' ἐκείνοι μετὰ σιωπῆς, ὥς πρέπει νέοις,  
ἀλλήλοις ὁμιλοῦσιν ἡρέμα προσκύψαντες οὐ περὶ  
ἐδεσμάτων, φησὶν, οὐδὲ <τῶν> θεραπαινῶν τοῦ κεκλη-  
κότος ὑφ' ᾧ ἐλούσαντο, περὶ δὲ τῶν κτημάτων τοῦ  
ὑποδεξαμένου·

Ζηγὸς πον τοιαῦτα δόμοις ἐν κτήματα κείται.

<sup>10</sup> The traditional text of Homer has πασσαμένῳ.

- βέλτιον γὰρ οὕτως φησὶν ὁ Σέλευκος γράφεσθαι.  
 189 Ἀρίσταρχος δὲ οὐ δεόντως γράφει· ||

Ζηνός που τοιήδε γ' Ὀλυμπίου ἔνδοθεν αὐλή.

οὐ γὰρ τῆς οἰκίας τὸ κάλλος μόνον ἀποθαυμάζουσι.  
 πῶς γὰρ ἤλεκτρον καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ ἐλέφας ἐν τοῖς  
 τοίχοις ἦν; ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν περὶ τοῦ οἴκου εἰρήκασιν, ὥς  
 ἐστὶ δώματα ἠχήμεντα· τοιαῦτα γὰρ δὴ τὰ ὑπόροφα καὶ  
 μεγάλα. περὶ δὲ τῶν σκευῶν τὸ

χρυσοῦ τ' ἠλέκτρον τε καὶ ἀργύρου ἡδ'  
 ἐλέφαντος.

οἷς εἰκότως ἐπιφέρεται·

- b Ζηνός που τοιαῦτα δόμοις ἐν κτήματα κείμεναι, |  
 ὅσσα τὰδ' ἄσπετα πολλά· σέβας μ' ἔχει  
 εἰσορόωντα.

οὐκ ἐστὶν δ' ἀκόλουθον τῷ

Ζηνός που τοιήδε γ' Ὀλυμπίου ἔνδοθεν αὐλή  
 ἐπιφέρειν

ὅσσα τὰδ' ἄσπετα πολλά,

σόλοιον ὃν τῷ ἀσυνήθει τῆς ἀναγνώσεως. ἔτι τοίνυν  
 οὐδ' ἡ αὐλή ἀρμόττει ἐπὶ τοῦ οἴκου· ὁ γὰρ διαπνεό-  
 μενος τόπος αὐλή λέγεται, καὶ διαυλωνίζειν φημὲν τὸ

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<sup>43</sup> Aristarchus' reading is accepted by all modern editors.

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For Seleucus (fr. 22 Müller) says that the line is better written this way, whereas Aristarchus offers the wrong reading:<sup>43</sup>

The court (*aulē*) of Zeus on Olympus is like this, I  
imagine.

Because they do not just express amazement at the beauty of the house; for how could electrum, silver, and ivory (cf. *Od.* 4.73) be part of the walls? But they refer to the house itself, saying that it is an “echoing mansion” (*Od.* 4.72); because this is what large, high-roofed houses are like. But the line (*Od.* 4.73)

of gold, electrum, silver, and ivory

concerns furnishings. These words are appropriately followed by (*Od.* 4.74–5):

Possessions like these are found in the house of Zeus,  
I imagine,  
so unspeakably numerous are they; awe grips me as I  
look at them.

Whereas after

The court (*aulē*) of Zeus on Olympus is like this, I  
imagine,

the text cannot continue (*Od.* 4.75)

so unspeakably numerous are they,

which would be a solecism produced by the peculiarity of the reading. The word *aulē*, moreover, is inappropriate for the house; for a place the breeze blows through is referred to as an *aulē*, and we use the verb *diaulōnizein* in

δεχόμενον ἐξ ἑκατέρου πνεῦμα χωρίον. ἔτι δὲ αὐλὸς  
 c μὲν τὸ ὄργανον, | ὅτι διέρχεται τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ πᾶν τὸ  
 διατεταμένον εἰς εὐθύτητα σχῆμα αὐλὸν καλοῦμεν  
 ὥσπερ τὸ στάδιον καὶ τὸν κρουνὸν τοῦ αἵματος·

< . . . > αὐτίκα δ' αὐλὸς ἀνὰ ρίνας παχὺς ἦλθε,  
 καὶ τὴν περικεφαλαίαν ὅταν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου πρὸς ὀρθὸν  
 ἀνατείνη αὐλῶπιν. λέγονται δὲ Ἀθήνησι καὶ ἱεροί  
 τινες αὐλῶνες, ὧν μέμνηται Φιλόχορος ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ.  
 καλοῦσι δ' ἀρσενικῶς τοὺς αὐλῶνας, ὥσπερ Θουκυδί-  
 d δης ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ καὶ πάντες οἱ καταλογάδην συγ-  
 γραφεῖς, οἱ δὲ ποιηταὶ θηλυκῶς. | Καρκίνος μὲν  
 Ἀχιλλεῖ·

βαθείαν εἰς αὐλῶνα περιδρομον στρατοῦ.  
 καὶ Σοφοκλῆς Σκύθαις·

κρημνοὺς τε καὶ σήραγγας ἡδ' ἐπακτίας  
 αὐλῶνας.

ἐκδεκτέον οὖν καὶ τὸ παρὰ Ἐρατοσθένει ἐν τῷ Ἑρμῇ  
 θηλυκῶς εἰρῆσθαι

< . . . > βαθὺς διαφύεται αὐλῶν

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<sup>44</sup> Cf. Lyc. 40 with the *scholia*, which note the common use of *diaulos* for a race the length of the stadium and back.



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reference to a spot that gets a breeze from either side. The musical instrument, moreover, is called an *aulos* ("pipe") because air passes through it; and we refer to anything stretched out in an elongated form as an *aulos*, for example a stadium<sup>44</sup> or a stream of blood (*Od.* 22.18):

Immediately a thick stream (*aulos*) of blood came out  
of his nostrils.

We also call a helmet, when it extends straight up from the middle, an *aulōpis*.<sup>45</sup> Certain sacred *aulōnes* ("hollows") in Athens are referred to; Philochorus (*FGrH* 328 F 68) mentions them in Book IX. Some authorities have the word in the masculine, as for example Thucydides in Book IV (103.1)<sup>46</sup> and all prose-authors, whereas the poets have it in the feminine. Carcinus in *Achilles* (*TrGF* 70 F 1d):<sup>47</sup>

into the deep hollow (fem.) surrounding the army.

Also Sophocles in *Scythians* (fr. 549):

crag, caves, and hollows (fem.)  
along the shore.

We must therefore accept that the word is also feminine in Eratosthenes' *Hermes* (fr. 8, p. 60 Powell):

a deep hollow runs through it,

<sup>45</sup> The word appears in Homer (e.g. *Il.* 5.182) in connection with helmets, although its precise sense is obscure.

<sup>46</sup> A personal name.

<sup>47</sup> The form of the adjective in this quotation and the one that follows makes it clear that the word is being treated as feminine.

ἀντὶ τοῦ βαθεία, καθάπερ λέγεται

< . . . > θῆλυς ἑέρση.

e πᾶν οὖν τὸ τοιοῦτον αὐλή τε καὶ αὐλὼν λέγεται. | νῦν δὲ τὰ βασίλεια λέγουσιν αὐλάς, ὥσπερ Μένανδρος·

αὐλὰς θεραπεύειν καὶ σατράπας.

καὶ Δίφιλος·

αὐλὰς θεραπεύειν δ' ἐστίν, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ,  
ἢ φυγάδος ἢ πεινῶντος ἢ μαστιγίου,

ἥτοι διὰ τὸ μεγάλους ἔχειν τοὺς πρὸ τῶν οἴκων ὑπαιθρίους τόπους ἢ τῷ παραυλίζεσθαι καὶ παρακοιμάσθαι τοὺς δορυφόρους τοῖς βασιλείοις. Ὅμηρος δὲ τὴν αὐλήν ἀεὶ τάττει ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπαίθρων τόπων, ἔνθα ἦν  
f ὁ τοῦ Ἑρκείου Ζηνὸς βωμός. ὁ μέντοι | γε Πηλεὺς καταλαμβάνεται

αὐλῆς ἐν χόρτῳ· ἔχε δὲ χρύσειον ἄλεισον,  
σπένδων αἶθοπα οἶνον ἐπ' αἰθομένοις ἱεροῖσι·

ὁ δὲ Πρίαμος

αὐλῆς ἐν χόρτοις κυλινδόμενος κατὰ κόπρον.

καὶ ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς προστάττει τοῖς περὶ τὸν Φῆμιον·

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<sup>48</sup> The word "dew" is normally feminine, but the masculine form of the adjective is used with it in this phrase.

190 ἄλλ' ἐξελθόντες μεγάρων εὖ ναιεταόντων<sup>11</sup> ||  
ἐκ φόβου εἰς αὐλήν.

ὅτι δὲ ὁμοῦ τὸν τε οἶκον καὶ τὰ κτήματα ἐπήνεσεν ὁ  
Τηλέμαχος ἐμφανίζει ὁ Μενέλαος·

τέκνα φίλ', ἧ τοι Ζηνὶ βροτῶν οὐκ ἄν τις ἐρίζοι  
ἀθάνατοι γὰρ τοῦ γε δόμοι καὶ κτήματ' ἔασιν.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπανιτέον ἐπὶ τὸ συμπόσιον, ἐν ᾧ Ὅμη-  
ρος ἐπιδεξίως ἀφορμὴν εὗρεν λόγων, ὥστε κτήσιν  
συγκρίναι φίλῳ<sup>12</sup>. οὐ γὰρ ὡς πρόβλημα προτείνει,  
b ἄλλ' ἐπιχαρίτως παρείρας ὁ Μενέλαος, | ἐπειδὴ ἤκου-  
σε τῶν ἐπαίνων, τὸ μὲν εἶναι πλούσιος οὐκ ἀρνεῖται·  
κάνταῦθα δὲ περιελὼν τὸν φθόνον, < . . . > πολλὰ γάρ,  
φησὶν, παθὼν ἔχειν αὐτόν. οὐ μέντοι γε ἀξιοῖ ἑαυτὸν  
θεοῖς συγκρίνειν·

ἀθάνατοι γὰρ τοῦ γε δόμοι καὶ κτήματ' ἔασιν.

ἐνδειξάμενος δὲ φιλάδελφον ἦθος καὶ μετ' ἀνάγκης  
φήσας ζῆν τε καὶ πλουτεῖν ἀντιπαρέθηκε τὸν τῆς  
φιλίας λόγον·

c ὦν ὄφελον τριτάτην περ ἔχων ἐν δώμασι μοῖραν  
ναίειν, οἱ δ' ἄνδρες σόοι ἔμμεναι οἱ τότε ὄλοντο |  
Τροίῃ ἐν εὐρείῃ ἐκάς Ἄργεος ἵπποβότοιο.

<sup>11</sup> The traditional text of Homer has ἔξεσθε θύραζε.

<sup>12</sup> φίλου A

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Go out of the well-inhabited house  
away from the slaughter into the courtyard (*aulē*)!

That Telemachus praised both the king's house and his  
possessions is made clear by Menelaus (*Od.* 4.78–9):

My dear children, certainly no mortal could rival  
Zeus;  
for his house and possessions are immortal.

But we need to return to the symposium, where Homer cleverly invented a pretext for conversation, so as to produce a contrast between owning property and having a friend. For Menelaus does not treat this as a point requiring discussion, but graciously concedes the matter, after he hears their praise, and does not deny that he is rich. But afterward he removes any ground for resentment . . . ; for he says that he got his property “after suffering many things” (*Od.* 4.81). Moreover, he does not think it right to compare himself to the gods (*Od.* 4.79):

for his house and possessions are immortal.

And after making a show of the affection he felt for his brother (*Od.* 4.90–3) and saying that life and wealth were forced on him,<sup>49</sup> he balances against this his account of friendship (*Od.* 4.97–9):

Would that I lived in my house with only a third  
of these things, and those men were alive who  
perished then  
in wide Troy far from horse-pasturing Argos!

<sup>49</sup> A reference to a line (*Od.* 4.93a) known and rejected by the scholiast, as well as by modern editors.

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What descendant of those who died on behalf of such a person would not feel that his grief for the loss of his father had been redeemed at full price by such a gracious mention of him? But so as not to seem to feel the same way about everyone who showed him similar goodwill, he added (*Od.* 4.104–5):

For none of them all do I grieve as much, sorrowful  
though I am,  
as I do for one man, who makes sleep and food  
hateful to me.

And in order not to appear to be neglecting the man's relatives, he mentioned them by name (*Od.* 4.110–12):

The old Laertes and  
thoughtful Penelope are grieving for him now, I  
imagine,  
and Telemachus, whom he left a newborn baby in his  
house.

When Telemachus bursts into tears at the mention,<sup>50</sup> Menelaus stops (*Od.* 4.116–20); in the meantime . . . by the entrance of Helen (*Od.* 4.121–2); and when she recognizes him because of his resemblance<sup>51</sup> (*Od.* 4.141–6)—because the fact that women keep a close watch on one another's modesty makes them very good at detecting the similarities between children and their parents—and Peisistratus as well interjects a speech (*Od.* 4.155–67); we ought not to overlook him, as if were simply a bodyguard—and makes some neat remarks about Telemachus' sense of decency (*Od.* 4.158–60), Menelaus again adds something about his

<sup>50</sup> Sc. of his father (*Od.* 4.113–14).

<sup>51</sup> Sc. to Odysseus.

λαος περὶ τῆς τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως φιλίας ὅτι μετὰ μόνου  
 καταγηράναι μάλιστ' ἂν ᾔθελεν ἐκείνου. κατὰ δὲ τὸ  
 f εἰκὸς | οἱ μὲν δακρύνουσιν, ἡ δ' Ἑλένη Διὸς οὔσα  
 θυγάτηρ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ σοφῶν μεμαθη-  
 κυῖα πολλοὺς λόγους εἰς τὸν οἶνον ἐμβάλλει πανακὲς  
 τῷ ὄντι φάρμακον καὶ ἄρχεται διηγείσθαι τὰ περὶ τοῦ  
 Ὀδυσσέως μεταξὺ ταλασιουργίας ἀπτομένη, οὐ δι'  
 ἀρέσκειαν τοῦτο πράττουσα, ἀλλ' οἴκοθεν ἔχουσα τὴν  
 191 τοιαύτην αἵρεσιν. || ἡ γοῦν Ἀφροδίτη ἐρχομένη πρὸς  
 αὐτὴν μετὰ τὸ μονομάχιον εἰκάζεται·

γρηὶ δέ μιν εἰκνῖα παλαιγενεὶ προσέειπεν  
 εἰροκόμῳ, ἥ οἱ Λακεδαίμονι ναιεταούσῃ  
 ἥσκειν εἴρια καλά.

ἐμφανίζεται δ' αὐτῆς οὐ παρέργως τὸ φίλεργον καὶ  
 τούτων·

b τῇ δ' ἄρ' ἄμ' Ἀδρήστη κλισίην εὖτυκτον ἔθηκεν,  
 Ἀλκίππη δὲ τάπητα φέρειν μαλακοῦ ἐρίοιο, |  
 Φυλῶ δ' ἀργύρεον τάλαρον φέρε, τόν οἱ ἔδωκεν  
 Ἀλκάνδρη, Πολύβοιο δάμαρ < . . . >.  
 τόν ῥά οἱ ἀμφίπολος Φυλῶ παρέθηκε φέρουσα  
 νήματος ἀσκητοῖο βεβυσμένον· αὐτὰρ ἐν<sup>14</sup> αὐτῷ  
 ἡλακάτη τετάνυστο ἰοδνεφές εἶρος ἔχουσα.

c ἔοικε δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ τὴν ἑαυτῆς καλλιτεχνίαν συνορᾶν.  
 τῷ γοῦν Τηλεμάχῳ πέπλον τινὰ δωρουμένη | φησί·

<sup>14</sup> The traditional text of Homer has ἐπ'.

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friendship with Odysseus, to the effect that he was the one man he would particularly have liked to grow old with (*Od.* 4.168–82, esp. 178–80). As one might expect, they weep (*Od.* 4.183–6); but Helen, since she is a daughter of Zeus (cf. *Od.* 4.219, 227) and has learned many spells from the wise men in Egypt (cf. *Od.* 4.228–32), throws a drug into the wine that can in fact cure anything (*Od.* 4.220–1), and begins to tell stories about Odysseus (*Od.* 4.240ff), taking up her wool-working at the same time, something she did not for pleasure but because she developed a habit of this sort at home. When Aphrodite, for example, comes to her after the duel, she makes herself look (*Il.* 3.386–8)

Like an ancient old woman she spoke to her,  
a wool-dresser, who worked beautiful wool for her  
when she lived in Sparta.

Her industry is carefully described in the following lines as well (*Od.* 4.123–6, 133–5):

Adreste accompanied her and set her well-made  
chair in its place;  
Alcippe brought a blanket made of soft wool;  
and Phylo brought a silver work-basket which  
Alcandre,  
Polybus' wife, gave her . . .  
The servant-woman Phylo brought it and set it beside  
her  
stuffed full of carded wool; a distaff holding  
dark-colored wool lay stretched out in the basket.

She herself appears to be conscious of her own skill at this craft. When she gives Telemachus a robe, at any rate, she says (*Od.* 15.125–7):



δῶρόν τοι καὶ ἐγώ, τέκνον φίλε, τοῦτο δίδωμι,  
μνημ' Ἑλένης χειρῶν, πολυηράτου ἐς γάμου  
ῥῆν,  
σῇ δ' <sup>15</sup> ἀλόχῳ φορέειν.

αὕτη δ' ἡ φιλεργία τὴν σωφροσύνην αὐτῆς κατα-  
μηνύει· οὐ χλιδῶσα γὰρ οὐδὲ θρυπτομένη διὰ τὸ  
κάλλος εἰσάγεται. εὐρίσκεται γοῦν περὶ ἱστὸν ὑφαί-  
νουσα καὶ ποικίλλουσα·

d τὴν δ' εὖρ' ἐν μεγάρῳ· ἡ δὲ μέγαν ἱστὸν  
ὑφαίνει, |  
δίπλακα μαρμαρέην, πολέας δ' ἐνέπασσεν  
ἀέθλους  
Τρώων θ' ἵπποδάμων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων,  
οὓς ἔθεν εἵνεκ' ἔπασχον ὑπ' Ἄρηος παλαμάων.

Διδάσκει δ' ἡμᾶς Ὅμηρος ὅτι δεῖ καὶ τοὺς κεκλη-  
μένους ἐφ' ἐστίασιν παρακαλεῖν ἀπανίστασθαι τοὺς  
κεκληκότας. ὁ μὲν Τηλέμαχος τὸν Μενέλαον·

ἀλλ' ἄγετ' εἰς εὐνὴν τράπεθ' ἡμέας, ὄφρα καὶ  
ἤδη  
ὑπνῶ ὑπὸ γλυκερῷ ταρπώμεθα κοιμηθέντες.

e ἡ δὲ προσποιουμένη Μέντωρ εἶναι Ἀθηνᾶ πρὸς τὸν |  
Νέστορα·

ἀλλ' ἄγε τάμνετε μὲν γλώσσας, κεράσασθε <sup>16</sup> δὲ  
οἶνον,  
ὄφρα Ποσειδάωνι καὶ ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισιν

## BOOK V

immortals and think of bed; because it is time for that.

It does not appear to be pious to remain too long at festivals in honor of the gods. The Homeric Athena, for example, says, as if it were a maxim (*Od.* 3.335–6):

For now the light is gone into the darkness, and it is not proper  
to sit for a long time at the gods' feast, but to go home.

Even today, in fact, it is the rule to leave some sacrificial festivals before the sun sets. And in Egypt in ancient times symposia were conducted in a restrained manner, according to Apollonius (*FGrH* 661 F 2), who wrote about them. They sat when they dined, ate very simple, healthy food, and drank just enough wine to make them cheerful, which is what Pindar (fr. 155) requests from Zeus:

Whatever I must do to become your friend, mightily  
thundering  
son of Cronus, and a friend of the Muses,  
and of Cheerfulness of songs—this is what I ask you  
for.

Plato's symposium is no board-meeting, council-meeting, or club-meeting of philosophers. For (*Smp.* 223b–d) Socrates does not want to leave the party, although Eryximachus, Phaedrus, and some of the others are gone, but stays awake along with Aristophanes and Agathon and drinks from a silver well—for one authority aptly applies

# ATHENAEUS

ἢ ὅταν εὐφροσύνη<sup>18</sup> μὲν ἔχῃ κατὰ δῆμον ἅπαντα,  
δαιτυμόνες δ' ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκουάζωνται ἀοιδοῦ,

ξένου ὑποδοχὴν ἔχει, ὄντων καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Φαιάκων  
τρυφερῶν. ὅπερ συμβάλλων τις πρὸς τὰ τῶν φιλο-  
σόφων συμπόσια κοσμιώτερον ἂν εὖροι, καίτοι τοῦτο  
περιέχον καὶ ἱλαρότητα καὶ παιδιὰν εὐσχήμονα. μετὰ  
γὰρ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν γυμνικὸν ἄδει ὁ ὥδὸς ἀμφ' Ἄρεος  
φιλότητα μῦθόν τινα χλεύη κεκραμένον, καίτοι εἰς τὴν  
e μνηστηροφονίαν ὑποθηκῶν | ὑποτιθεμένων τῷ Ὀδυσ-  
σεῖ, ὡς τοῦ Κυλλοποδίωνος<sup>19</sup> τὸν ἀνδρειότατον Ἄρη  
καταγωνισαμένου.

Ἐκαθέζοντο δὲ καὶ δειπνοῦντες οἱ τότε. πολλαχοῦ  
γούν ὁ Ὅμηρός φησιν·

ἐξείης ἔζοντο κατὰ κλισμούς τε θρόνους τε.

ὁ γὰρ θρόνος αὐτὸ μόνον ἐλευθέριός ἐστιν καθέδρα  
σὺν ὑποποδίῳ, ὅπερ θρήνυν καλοῦντες ἐντεῦθεν αὐτὸν  
ὠνόμασαν θρόνον τοῦ θρήσασθαι χάριν, ὅπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ  
καθέζεσθαι τάσσουσιν, ὡς Φιλητᾶς·

< . . . > θρήσασθαι δὲ πλατάνῳ γραίῃ<sup>20</sup> ὑπο.

f ὁ δὲ κλισμὸς | περιττοτέρως κεκόσμηται ἀνακλίσει.  
τούτων δ' εὐτελέστερος ἦν ὁ δίφρος· τῷ γούν Ὀδυσσεῖ  
ἐπαίτη εἶναι δοκοῦντι

<sup>18</sup> The traditional text of Homer has ὅτ' εὐφροσύνη.

<sup>19</sup> ὡς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου καὶ τοῦ Κυλλοποδίωνος A: ὡς τοῦ  
Κυλλοποδίωνος tantum CE

<sup>20</sup> γραίῃ Bergk: γαίῃ ACE

## BOOK V

than when joy prevails among all the people<sup>56</sup>  
and feasters are in the house listening to a bard,

involves the entertainment of a guest, and the Phaeacians themselves were devoted to luxurious living. But if one were to compare this symposium with those of the philosophers, it would appear more orderly, even though it involves some humor and tasteful fun. Because after the athletic contest the bard sings a story (*Od.* 9.266–365) about Ares' lovemaking which involves a bit of mockery, although hints are also offered to Odysseus about the killing of the Suitors, since Clubfoot<sup>57</sup> defeats Ares, the paragon of masculinity.

People in those days sat at dinner. Homer, at any rate, says repeatedly (e.g. *Od.* 1.145):

They sat in rows on couches (*klismoi*) and chairs  
(*thronoi*).

Because a *thronos* is a chair used exclusively by free people and equipped with a footstool, which they referred to as a *thrēnus*, from which they got the word *thronos*, deriving it from *thrēsasthai*, which they use to mean "to sit down," as Philetas (fr. 14, p. 93 Powell = fr. 22 Sbardella) does:

to sit down beneath a gray plane-tree.

The *klismos* is more elaborately designed to allow one to recline. The *diphros* ("stool") was more humble than these. When Odysseus, for example, looks like a beggar, Homer (*Od.* 20.259) describes someone<sup>58</sup> as

<sup>56</sup> For the text, cf. 1.16d with n.  
wife Aphrodite was seduced by Ares.

<sup>57</sup> Hephaestus, whose  
<sup>58</sup> Telemachus.

δίφρον ἀεικέλιον (φησί) καταθείς ὀλίγην τε  
τράπεζαν.

Οἱ δὲ κρατῆρες αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ ἔχει καὶ τοῦνομα,  
κεκραμένοι παρεστήκεσαν, ἐξ ὧν οἱ κοῦροι διακονού-  
μενοι τοῖς μὲν ἐντιμοτάτοις αἰὲς πλήρες παρείχον τὸ  
ποτήριον, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἐξ ἴσου διένεμον. ὁ γοῦν  
193 Ἀγαμέμνων πρὸς τὸν Ἰδομενέα φησί· ||

σὸν δὲ πλείον δέπας αἰεὶ  
ἔστηχ' ὥσπερ ἐμοί, πῖειν ὅτε θυμὸς ἀνώγει.

προέπινον δ' ἀλλήλοις οὐχ ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς (τοῦτο γὰρ  
προεκπιεῖν ἐστίν), ἀλλὰ μεστὸν τὸν σκύφον·

πλησάμενος δ' οἴνοιο δέπας δείδεκτ' Ἀχιλλῆα.

ὁσάκις δὲ καὶ τροφὰς ἐλάμβανον, προειρήκαμεν ἤδη  
ὅτι δὴ τρεῖς ἦσαν διὰ τὸ τὸ αὐτό ποτε μὲν ἄριστον,  
ποτέ δὲ δεῖπνον ὀνομάζεσθαι. γελοῖοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ  
φάσκοντες ὅτι καὶ τέσσαρας ἐλάμβανον, ἐπεὶ ὁ ποι-  
ητὴς ἔφη·

< . . . > σὺ δ' ἔρχεο δειελήσας,

- b οὐ νοοῦντες ὅτι | λέγει τὸν δειλινὸν διατρίψας χρόνον.  
ὅμως δὲ οὐδεὶς δείξει παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ τρίς τινα λαμ-  
βάνοντα τροφάς. διαμαρτάνουσι δὲ πολλοὶ παρὰ τῷ  
ποιητῇ ἐφεξῆς τιθέντες τούτους τοὺς στίχους·

<sup>59</sup> I.e. with only a little wine in the cup, which was drained as  
part of the toast.

σῖτον δ' αἰδοίη ταμίη παρέθηκε φέρουσα,  
 εἶδατα πόλλ' ἐπιθείσα, χαριζομένη παρεόντων·  
 δαιτρὸς δὲ κρειῶν πίνακας παρέθηκεν αἰείρας.

εἰ γὰρ εἶδατα παρέθηκεν ἡ ταμίη, δῆλον ὡς κρεάτων  
 λείψανα τυγχάνοντα, τὸν δαιτρὸν οὐκ ἔδει παρεισφέ-  
 ρειν. διόπερ τὸ δίστιχον ἀπαρκεῖ. ἀπαλλαγέντων δὲ  
 τῶν δειπνούντων αἱ τράπεζαι ἐβαστάζοντο, ὥσπερ  
 c παρὰ | τοῖς μνηστήρσι καὶ τοῖς Φαίαξιν, ἐφ' ὧν καὶ  
 λέγει·

< . . . > ἀμφίπολοι δ' ἀπεκόσμεον ἔντεα δαιτός,

δῆλον ὡς τὰ ἀγγεῖα. καὶ γὰρ τῶν ὅπλων τὰ σκε-  
 παστικά, θώρακα καὶ κνημίδας καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἐμφερῆ,  
 λέγουσιν ἔντη, καθάπερ ἀγγεῖα τῶν τοῦ σώματος  
 μερῶν ὄντα. τῶν δὲ ἥρωικῶν οἴκων τοὺς μείζονας  
 Ὅμηρος μέγαλα καλεῖ καὶ δώματα καὶ κλισίας, οἱ δὲ  
 νῦν ξενῶνας καὶ ἀνδρῶνας ὀνομάζουσι.

Τί οὖν ὀνομάσομεν, ἄνδρες φίλοι, τὸ συμπόσιον  
 ὅπερ Ἀντίοχος ὁ Ἐπιφανὴς μὲν κληθεῖς, Ἐπιμανὴς δ'  
 d ἐκ | τῶν πράξεων ὀνομασθεῖς; βασιλεὺς δ' ἦν οὗτος<sup>21</sup>  
 τῶν ἀπὸ Σελεύκου εἰς· περὶ οὗ φησι Πολύβιος τάδε,  
 ὡς ἀποδιδράσκων ἐκ τῆς αὐλῆς ἐνίστε τοὺς θεραπεύ-  
 οντας οὗ τύχοι τῆς πόλεως ἀλύων ἐφαίνετο δεύτερος

<sup>21</sup> οὗτος τῶν Συριακῶν A: τῶν Συριακῶν tantum CE

<sup>62</sup> I.e. the first and the third.

<sup>63</sup> Antiochus IV (reigned 175–164 BCE).

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And the respectful housekeeper brought bread and  
set it by their side,  
adding many dainties, favoring them from what she  
had available.  
And the carver picked up platters of meat and set  
them by their side.

Because if the housekeeper served them dainties, it is obvious that these are leftover bits of meat, and there would be no need for the carver to bring them anything else; so the two verses<sup>62</sup> are enough. After the dinner-guests left, the tables were carried out, as in the case of the Suitors and the Phaeacians, about whom he says (*Od.* 7.232):

The servant-women cleared away all the equipment  
(*entea*) for the feast,

obviously referring to the vessels; for they refer to protective armor, such as a chest-plate, greaves, and the like, as *entē*, as if they were vessels that contain parts of the body. Homer refers to the larger rooms in the heroes' houses as *megara*, *dōmata*, and *klisiai*, which people today call *xenōnes* and *andrōnes*.

What name, then, shall we use, my friends, for the symposium given by Antiochus<sup>63</sup>, who was referred to as Epiphanes, but whose actions earned him the title Epimanes ("the Madman")? This fellow was one of the Seleucid kings, and Polybius<sup>64</sup> says the following about him: He sometimes left the palace and escaped his servants, and was seen wandering at random around the city

<sup>64</sup> From Book XXVI, which is otherwise lost; portions of the same passage are cited at 10.439a, and cf. 2.45c.



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with one or two other men. Generally he was found in the silversmiths' and goldsmiths' shops, offering them ideas and discussing their craft with the engravers and the other workmen. Sometimes he would stoop to associating with whatever ordinary people he met, and he used to drink with the least distinguished visitors to the country. When he discovered that some young men were having a feast, he would burst in on them drunk, without any explanation, carrying a drinking horn and a *sumphōnia*;<sup>65</sup> many of them were so shocked that they got up and tried to run away. He would frequently take off his royal robes, put on a toga, and walk around the marketplace campaigning for office, shaking some people's hands, hugging others, and urging them to give him their vote, sometimes so that he could become a market-commissioner, sometimes a tribune. After he won the office and took his seat in the ivory chair,<sup>66</sup> as is the Roman custom, he listened to the cases involving transactions in the marketplace and made his decisions earnestly and eagerly. The result was that he baffled reasonable people, because some of them suspected that he was a fool, while others considered him crazy. Where presents were involved, he behaved in a similar way; he gave some people gazelle knucklebones, some dates, and others gold coins. And he sometimes gave individuals he had never seen before unexpected presents when they met accidentally. As for the sacrificial festivals he offered the cities, and the honors he showed the gods, he outdid all

<sup>65</sup> Probably a musical instrument of some sort; but the text might mean instead "accompanied by musicians." Cf. 5.195f, where there is a similar ambiguity.

<sup>66</sup> I.e. the *sedes curulis*, used by Roman magistrates.

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those who had been kings before him. One can see evidence of this in the Olympieum in Athens<sup>67</sup> and the statues around the altar on Delos. He used the public baths when the bathhouse was full of ordinary people, and jars of extremely expensive perfume were brought in for him. Once, when someone said “You kings are lucky, because you get to use these perfumes and smell good,” he said nothing to him. But the next day he went over to where the fellow was bathing and had a huge pot of extremely expensive perfume, called *staktē*, dumped over his head; the result was that everyone taking a bath got up and rolled around in the perfume, or fell down because it was so slippery, which made everyone laugh, including the king himself. This same king heard about the games that had been celebrated in Macedon by the Roman general Aemilius Paulus;<sup>68</sup> and because he wanted to outdo Paulus in munificence, he sent off ambassadors and sacred delegates to the cities to announce the games he was going to hold at Daphne.<sup>69</sup> As a result, the Greeks were eager to visit him. He began the festival with a parade that proceeded in the following way: 5000 young men in the prime of life dressed in Roman chain-mail armor led the way, and behind them were 5000 Mysians. Immediately after them were 3000

<sup>67</sup> Work on the Olympieum was begun by the tyrant Peisistratus in the 6th century but abandoned when the dynasty collapsed, and Antiochus revived (but did not complete) the project.

<sup>68</sup> After his victory over the Macedonian king Perseus at Pydna in 168 BCE; cf. Plu. *Aem.* 28.7.

<sup>69</sup> A park outside of Antioch (one of the Seleucid royal capitals) controlled by the king; cf. 5.210e. The events referred to here took place in 166/5 BCE and were followed by a major military campaign in which Antiochus lost his life.

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Cilicians equipped like light-armed troops and wearing gold garlands. After them were 3000 Thracians and 5000 Galatians; after them came 20000 Macedonians, 5000 carrying bronze shields and the rest carrying silver shields. 240 pairs of gladiators followed them; and behind them were 1000 Nisaeen cavalry and 3000 citizen cavalry, most of whom had gold cheek-pieces<sup>70</sup> and wore gold garlands, while the others had silver cheek-pieces. After them were the so-called companion cavalry; there were about 1000 of them, all with gold cheek-pieces. Immediately after them was the contingent of Friends; there was the same number of them and they were outfitted in the same way. After them were 1000 picked men, who were followed by the so-called *agēma* ("guard"), which has a reputation for being the best cavalry unit; there were about 1000 of them. Last was the armored cavalry, with both horses and men covered with armor, as the name suggests; there were 1500 of them. All the individuals mentioned above wore purple military cloaks, often with gold threads running through them or embroidered figures. After them were 100 six-horse chariots and 40 four-horse chariots, and then a cart drawn by a team of elephants; 36 elephants fitted with ornamental trappings followed in single file. A complete description of the rest of the parade would be difficult to achieve, and a summary account is thus called for. About 800 ephebes marched in procession, wearing gold garlands, as well as about 1000 large bulls, slightly less than

<sup>70</sup> Sc. on their horses' bridles.

- φάντων δὲ ὀδόντες ὀκτακόσιοι. τὸ δὲ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων πλῆθος οὐ δυνατόν ἐξηγήσασθαι· πάντων γὰρ τῶν παρ' ἀνθρώποις λεγομένων ἢ νομιζομένων θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων, προσέτι δὲ ἡρώων εἰδωλα διήγετο, τὰ μὲν κεχρυσωμένα, τὰ δ' ἡμφιεσμένα στολαῖς διαchrύσοις. καὶ πᾶσι τούτοις οἱ προσήκοντες μῦθοι κατὰ τὰς
- b παραδεδομένας ἱστορίας ἐν διασκευαῖς | πολυτελέσι παρέκειντο. εἶπετο δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Νυκτὸς εἰδωλον καὶ Ἡμέρας, Γῆς τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ, καὶ Ἡοῦς καὶ Μεσημβρίας. τὸ δὲ τῶν χρυσωμάτων καὶ ἀργυρωμάτων πλῆθος οὕτως ἄν τις ὑπονοήσκειν ὅσον ἦν· ἐνὸς γὰρ τῶν φίλων Διονυσίου τοῦ ἐπιστολιαγράφου χίλιοι παῖδες ἐπόμευσαν ἀργυρώματα ἔχοντες, ὧν οὐδὲν ἐλάττον' ὀλκὴν εἶχεν δραχμῶν χιλίων. βασιλικοὶ δὲ παῖδες παρήλθον ἑξακόσιοι χρυσώματα ἔχοντες. ἔπειτα γυναικες ἐκ χρυσῶν | καλπίδων μύροις ἔραινον εἰς διακοσίας. ταύταις δ' ἐξῆς ἐπόμενον ἐν χρυσόποσι μὲν φορείοις ὀγδοήκοντα γυναῖκες, <ἐν> ἀργυρόποσι δὲ πεντακόσiai καθήμεναι, πολυτελῶς διεσκευασμέναι. καὶ τῆς μὲν πομπῆς τὰ ἐπιφανέστατα ταῦτα ἦν. ἐπιτελεσθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀγώνων καὶ μονομαχιῶν καὶ κυνηγεσίῳ κατὰ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας, ἐν αἷς τὰς θεὰς συνετέλει, πέντε μὲν τὰς πρώτας ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ πάντες ἐκ χρυσῶν ὀλκείων ἠλείφοντο κροκίνῳ μύρῳ· ἦν | δὲ ταῦτα πεντεκαίδεκα, καὶ κινναμωμίνου τὰ ἴσα καὶ ναρδίνου. παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἐξῆς εἰσεφέρετο τήλινον, ἀμαράκινον, ἴρινον, πάντα διαφέροντα ταῖς εὐωδίαις. ἔστρωτο δὲ εἰς εὐωχίαν ποτὲ μὲν χίλια
- d



## BOOK V

300 sacred embassies, and 800 elephant tusks. It is impossible to give an account of all the statues; for images of every god or divinity mentioned or believed in by human beings, as well as of heroes, were carried along. Some were gilded, others dressed in robes that had gold threads running through them; and the stories that went with all of them lay next to them in expensive editions that followed the traditional accounts. Images of Night and Day, Earth and Sky, and Dawn and Noon followed them. One might arrive at a sense of the number of gold and silver vessels in the following way: 1000 slaves belonging to one of the king's friends, Dionysius the royal secretary, marched in the procession carrying silver vessels, none of which weighed less than 1000 drachmas; and 600 slaves belonging to the king passed by carrying gold vessels. Then came about 200 women who sprinkled the spectators with perfume from gold pitchers. Immediately after them in the procession came 80 women seated on litters with gold feet, and 500 on litters with silver feet, all expensively dressed. These were the most ostentatious parts of the parade. The athletic contests, gladiatorial combats, and hunts took 30 days to complete, during which time he staged spectacles, at the first five of which all the people in the exercise-yard anointed themselves with saffron perfume from gold basins. There were 15 of these, as well as an equal number filled with cinnamon and spikenard perfume. Likewise on the days that followed, fennugreek, marjoram, and iris perfumes, all deliciously scented, were brought in. On one occasion 1000 triclinia<sup>71</sup> were spread with bed-clothes for

<sup>71</sup> Banqueting rooms with three couches.

τρίκλινα, ποτὲ δὲ χίλια πεντακόσια μετὰ τῆς πολυ-  
 τελεστάτης διασκευῆς. ὁ δὲ χειρισμὸς ἐγίνετο τῶν  
 πραγμάτων δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως· ἵππον γὰρ ἔχων  
 εὐτελῇ παρέτρεχε παρὰ τὴν πομπήν, τοὺς μὲν προ-  
 e ἀγειν κελεύων, τοὺς δὲ ἐπέχειν. κατὰ | δὲ τοὺς πότους  
 αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὰς εἰσόδους ἐφιστάμενος οὓς μὲν εἰσῆγεν,  
 οὓς δ' ἀνέκλινε, καὶ τοὺς διακόνους δὲ τοὺς τὰς παρα-  
 θέσεις φέροντας αὐτὸς εἰσῆγε. καὶ περιπορευόμενος  
 οὗ μὲν προσεκάθιζεν, οὗ δὲ προσανέπιπτε· καί ποτε  
 μὲν ἀποθέμενος μεταξὺ τὸν ψωμόν, ποτὲ δὲ τὸ ποτή-  
 ριον ἀνεπήδα καὶ μετανίστατο καὶ περιῆει τὸν πότον  
 προπόσεις λαμβάνων ὀρθὸς ἄλλοτε παρ' ἄλλοις, ἅμα  
 δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀκροάμασι προσπαίζων. προϊούσης δ' ἐπὶ  
 f πολὺν | τῆς συνουσίας καὶ πολλῶν ἤδη κεχωρισμένων  
 ὑπὸ τῶν μίμων ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰσεφέρετο ὅλος κεκα-  
 λυμμένος καὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐτίθετο ὡς εἷς ὢν δῆτα τῶν  
 μίμων· καὶ τῆς συμφωνίας προκαλουμένης ἀναπηδή-  
 σας ὠρχεῖτο καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο μετὰ τῶν γελωτοποιῶν,  
 ὥστε πάντας αἰσχυνομένους φεύγειν. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα  
 συνετελέσθη ἐξ ὧν τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐνοσφί-  
 σατο παρασπονδήσας τὸν Φιλομήτορα βασιλέα παι-  
 δίσκον ὄντα, <τὰ> δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων συμβαλλομένων.  
 196 ἱεροσυλῇ δὲ καὶ τὰ πλείιστα τῶν ἱερῶν. ||

Θαυμασάντων δὲ τῶν δαιτυμόνων τὴν τε τοῦ βασι-  
 λέως διάνοιαν ὡς οὐκ Ἐπιφανῆς, ἀλλ' ὄντως ἐπιμανῆς

<sup>72</sup> See 5.193e n.

<sup>73</sup> Ptolemy VI (reigned 180–145 BCE). Antiochus invaded

## BOOK V

a feast, while on another there were 1500 and the arrangements were extremely lavish. The king handled all the details personally; for he trotted alongside the procession on an unremarkable horse, telling some groups to move forward and others to wait. At the drinking parties he stood at the entrance in person and escorted some people in; showed others to their couches; and personally gave directions to the servants carrying the dishes. He walked around and sat next to someone here, or lay down beside someone else there; and sometimes he set down a bit of food when he was in the middle of eating it, or a glass of wine, and leapt up, went off somewhere else, and circulated through the party, receiving toasts standing next to various people, while simultaneously laughing at the entertainment. When the party had gone on for a long time and many people had already left, the king was carried in by the mime-actors with his face entirely concealed, and was set on the ground as if he were actually one of them. When the *sumphōnia*<sup>72</sup> summoned him, he leapt up and began to dance and to act along with the clowns; everyone was so embarrassed that they tried to flee. This was all done in part with money he appropriated from Egypt after he broke his treaty with King Philometor<sup>73</sup>, who was only a boy, and in part with funds contributed by his friends. He also plundered most of the temples.

After the members of the dinner party expressed their astonishment at both the state of the king's mind, which suggested that he was not Epiphanes but *epimanēs*

Egypt twice in 169–168, originally with the support of Ptolemy VI, who was locked in a struggle with his brother Ptolemy VIII, but the Romans ordered him out of the country shortly thereafter.



- ὑπῆρχε, < . . . > προσέθηκεν ὁ Μασούριος περὶ τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ γεγενημένης ὑπὸ τοῦ πάντα ἀρίστου Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου βασιλέως πομπῆς Καλλίξεινον τὸν Ῥόδιον ἱστοροῦντα ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ Περὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας, ὃς φησι· πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ἄρξασθαι τὴν κατασκευασθεῖσαν σκηνὴν ἐν τῷ τῆς ἄκρας περιβόλῳ χωρὶς τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τεχνιτῶν καὶ παρεπιδήμων ὑποδοχῆς ἐξηγήσομαι· καλὴ γὰρ | εἰς ὑπερβολὴν ἀξία τε ἀκοῆς ἐγενήθη. τὸ μὲν οὖν μέγεθος αὐτῆς ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα κλίνας ἐπιδεχόμενον κύκλῳ, διασκευὴν δ' εἶχε τοιαύτην. κίονες διεστάθησαν ξύλινοι πέντε μὲν κατὰ πλευρὰν ἐκάστην τοῦ μήκους πεντηκονταπήχεις πρὸς ὕψος, ἐνὶ δὲ ἐλάττους κατὰ πλάτος· ἐφ' ὧν ἐπιστύλιον καθηρμόσθη τετράγωνον, ὑπερεῖδον τὴν σύμπασαν τοῦ συμποσίου στέγην. αὕτη δ' ἐνεπετάσθη κατὰ μέσον οὐρανίσκῳ κοκκινοβαφεῖ περιλεύκῳ, καθ' ἑκάτερον δὲ μέρος εἶχε δοκοὺς
- c μεσολεύκοις ἐμπετάσμασι | πυργωτοῖς κατειλημένας, ἐν αἷς φατνώματα γραπτὰ κατὰ μέσον ἐτέτακτο. τῶν δὲ κιόνων οἱ μὲν τέσσαρες ὁμοίωντο φοίνικιν, οἱ δ' ἀνὰ μέσον θύρσων εἶχον φαντασίαν. τούτων δ' ἐκτὸς περίστυλος ἐπεποίητο σῦριγξ ταῖς τρισὶ πλευραῖς καμαρωτὴν ἔχουσα στέγην, ἐν ᾗ τὴν τῶν κατακειμένων ἀκολουθίαν ἐστάναι συνέβαινε. ἥς τὸ μὲν ἐντὸς αὐλαίαις περιείχετο φοινικέαις, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀνὰ μέσον χωρῶν δοραὶ θηρίων παράδοξοι καὶ τῇ ποικιλία καὶ τοῖς μεγέθεσιν ἐκρέμαντο. τὸ δὲ περιέχον |
- d αὐτὴν ὑπαιθρον μυρρίναις καὶ δάφναις ἄλλοις τε

## BOOK V

("mad"),<sup>74</sup> . . . Masurius added an account of the procession in Alexandria organized by the universally excellent King Ptolemy Philadelphus,<sup>75</sup> about which Callixeinus of Rhodes offers a report in Book IV of *On Alexandria* (FGrH 627 F 2). He says: Before I begin, I am going to offer a description of the pavilion set up within the citadel, in a different spot from where the soldiers, craftsmen, and visitors from other cities were entertained; for it was extraordinarily beautiful and well worth hearing about. As for its size, it could hold 300 couches set in a circle, and it was decorated as follows. Five wooden columns 50 cubits<sup>76</sup> high stood at intervals along the long sides, and four along the shorter sides; a rectangular architrave was set on top of them and supported the entire roof over the symposium area. The center of the roof was draped with a canopy dyed red with an off-white border; in each section there were beams covered with towering white curtains, and painted cofferwork was set between the beams. Four columns were made to resemble palmtrees, while those in the middle were decorated like Dionysiac staffs. Outside the columns a peristyle gallery with a vaulted roof had been built along three sides of the structure; this is where the servants who accompanied the guests stood. The interior of the gallery was lined with dark red curtains, and a large and diverse collection of animal skins was hanging in the spaces between them. The open area around the gallery had been roofed with myrtle, laurel, and other branches

<sup>74</sup> Cf. 5.193d with n.

<sup>75</sup> Ptolemy II (reigned 285/3–246 BCE).

<sup>76</sup> About 75 feet.

ἐπιτηδείοις ἔρνεσιν ἐγεγόνει συνηρεφές. τὸ δ' ἔδαφος  
 πᾶν ἄνθεσι κατεπέπαστο παντοίοις. ἡ γὰρ Αἴγυπτος  
 καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ περιέχοντος ἀέρος εὐκρασίαν καὶ διὰ  
 τοὺς κηπεύοντας τὰ σπανίως καὶ καθ' ὥραν ἐνεστη-  
 κυῖαν ἐν ἑτέροις φυόμενα τόποις ἄφθονα γεννᾷ καὶ διὰ  
 παντός, καὶ οὔτε ῥόδον οὔτε λευκόιον οὔτ' ἄλλο ῥαδί-  
 ως ἄνθος ἐκλιπεῖν οὐθὲν οὐδέποτ' εἴωθεν. διὸ δὴ καὶ  
 e παράδοξος ἡ φαντασία<sup>22</sup> | τοῖς ξένοις κατέστη· τὰ  
 γὰρ εἰς μίαν εὗρεθῆναι στεφάνωσιν οὐκ ἂν δυνηθέντα  
 ἐν ἄλλῃ πόλει ῥαδίως, ταῦτα καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν  
 κατακειμένων ἐκεχορήγητο εἰς τοὺς στεφάνους ἀφθό-  
 νως καὶ εἰς τὸ τῆς σκηνῆς ἔδαφος κατεπέπαστο χύ-  
 δην, θείου τινὸς ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀποτελοῦντα λειμῶνος  
 πρόσοψιν. διέκειτο δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν τῆς σκηνῆς παρα-  
 στάδων ζῶα μαρμάρινα τῶν πρώτων τεχνιτῶν ἑκατόν.  
 ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀνὰ μέσον χώραις πίνακες τῶν Σικυωνικῶν  
 f ζωγράφων, ἐναλλὰξ δ' ἐπίλεκτοι | εἰκασίαι παντοῖαι  
 καὶ χιτῶνες χρυσοῦφεις ἐφαπτίδες τε κάλλισται, τινὲς  
 μὲν εἰκόνας ἔχουσιν τῶν βασιλέων ἐνυφασμένας, αἱ  
 δὲ μυθικὰς διαθέσεις. ὑπεράνω δὲ τούτων θυρεοὶ περι-  
 ἔκειντο ἐναλλὰξ ἀργυροῖ τε καὶ χρυσοῖ. ἐν δὲ ταῖς  
 ἐπάνω τούτων χώραις οὔσαις ὀκταπήχεσιν ἄντρα κατ-  
 εσκεύαστο κατὰ μὲν τὸ μῆκος τῆς σκηνῆς ἕξ ἐν  
 ἑκατέρᾳ πλευρᾷ, κατὰ πλάτος δὲ τέτταρα· συμπόσιά  
 τε ἀντία ἀλλήλων <ἐν> αὐτοῖς τραγικῶν τε καὶ κωμι-

<sup>22</sup> φαντασία τότε A

## BOOK V

that would serve the purpose. The entire floor had been strewn with flowers of every kind; for the fact that the air in Egypt is temperate, and the gardeners there cultivate plants that grow elsewhere only in limited quantities and in particular seasons, means that the country produces enormous quantities of flowers at every time of year, and the general rule is that no flower, including roses, snowdrops, or anything else, ever completely stops blooming. The fact that the party took place in mid-winter therefore meant that the guests were astonished by what they saw; because flowers that could not easily have been found combined in a single garland in any other city had been arranged in garlands in immense numbers for the large crowd of guests and strewn in heaps on the floor of the pavilion, making it look as if it were truly a divine meadow. 100 marble statues by the most important artists stood by the pilasters that supported the canopy; in the spaces between these were paintings by Sicyonian artists,<sup>77</sup> alternating with select images of every sort, tunics with gold woven into the fabric, and beautiful military cloaks, some with royal portraits woven in, others with mythological subjects. Oblong shields that alternated between silver and gold were set around the room above these. And in the space over them, which was eight cubits high, caves had been constructed; there were six of these along each long side of the room, and four along the short sides. Set opposite one another in the caves were symposia being celebrated by characters drawn from

<sup>77</sup> For the Sicyonian school, see Plin. *Nat.* 35.75.

- 197 κῶν καὶ σατυρικῶν || ζώων ἀληθινὸν ἔχόντων ἱμα-  
τισμόν, οἷς παρέκειτο καὶ ποτήρια χρυσᾶ. κατὰ μέσον  
δὲ τῶν ἀντρων νύμφαι ἐλείφθησαν, ἐν αἷς ἔκειντο  
Δελφικοὶ χρυσοὶ τρίποδες ὑποστήματ' ἔχοντες. κατὰ  
δὲ τὸν ὑψηλότατον τόπον τῆς ὀροφῆς αἰετοὶ κατὰ  
πρόσωπον ἦσαν ἀλλήλων χρυσοῖ, πεντεκαιδεκαπή-  
χεις τὸ μέγεθος. ἔκειντο δὲ κλῖναι χρυσαῖ σφιγ-  
γόποδες ἐν ταῖς δυσὶ πλευραῖς ἑκατόν· ἡ γὰρ κατὰ  
πρόσωπον ἀψὶς ἀφείτ' ἀναπεπταμένη. ταύταις δ' ἀμ-  
b φίταποι ἀλουργεῖς ὑπέστρωντο | τῆς πρώτης ἐρέας,  
καὶ περιστρώματα ποικίλα διαπρεπῆ ταῖς τέχναις  
ἐπῆν. ψιλαὶ δὲ Περσικαὶ τὴν ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ποδῶν  
χώραν ἐκάλυπτον, ἀκριβῆ τὴν εὐγραμμίαν τῶν ἐνυ-  
φασμένων ἔχουσai ζωδίων. παρετέθησαν δὲ καὶ τρί-  
ποδες τοῖς κατακειμένοις χρυσοῖ διακόσιοι τὸν ἀ-  
ριθμόν, ὥστ' εἶναι δύο κατὰ κλίνην, ἐπ' ἀργυρῶν  
διέδρων. ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὀπισθεν πρὸς τὴν ἀπόνηψιν ἑκατὸν  
ἀργυραῖ λεκάнай καὶ καταχύσεις ἴσαι παρέκειντο.  
c ἐπεπήγει δὲ τοῦ συμποσίου | καταντικρὺ καὶ ἑτέρα  
κλίνη πρὸς τὴν τῶν κυλίκων καὶ ποτηρίων τῶν τε  
λοιπῶν τῶν πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν ἀνηκόντων<sup>23</sup> κατασκευ-  
ασμάτων ἔκθεσιν· ἃ δὴ πάντα χρυσᾶ τε ἦν καὶ διά-  
λιθα, θαυμαστὰ ταῖς τέχναις. τούτων δὲ τὴν μὲν κατὰ  
μέρος κατασκευὴν καὶ τὰ γένη μακρὸν ἐπεφαίνετό μοι  
δηλοῦν· τὸ δὲ τοῦ σταθμοῦ πλήθος εἰς μύρια τάλαντα  
ἀργυρίου τὴν σύμπασαν εἶχε κατασκευὴν. ἡμεῖς δὲ

<sup>23</sup> ἀνηκόντων καὶ A

## BOOK V

tragedy, comedy, and satyr play; they wore real clothing, and gold drinking cups lay beside them. Niches<sup>78</sup> had been left in the middle of the caves, with gold Delphic tripods on stands set in them. At the highest point of the roof were gold eagles that faced one another and were 15 cubits high. 100 gold couches with feet shaped like sphinxes were set along the two sides of the pavilion; the front end of the hall was left open. Purple double-pile carpets made of first-quality wool were spread over the couches, and on top of these were embroidered quilts of remarkable workmanship. Smooth Persian carpets with fine designs of living creatures worked into them covered the space in the center where people walked around. 200 gold tripods on silver stands were set beside the guests, so that there would be two per couch; behind these were set 100 silver basins and an equal number of pitchers for them to wash with. Another couch had been erected facing the symposium to display the cups and drinking vessels and the other items that were needed; these were all made of gold, had inset jewels, and were of extraordinary workmanship. It seemed to me that offering a detailed account of the craftsmanship of these vessels and listing all the types would be an enormous undertaking; but the total weight of all the dinner vessels taken together was 10000 talents of silver.<sup>79</sup> Now

<sup>78</sup> The Greek says "nymphs"; either this is an otherwise unattested extended use of the word in the sense "features typical of shrines of the nymphs," or the word is corrupt.

<sup>79</sup> Around 300 tons.



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their bodies with sea-purple, others with vermilion and other colors. They were carrying a gold garland made of grapevines and ivy. After them came two silens in purple military cloaks and high white boots. One of them wore a broad-brimmed hat and was carrying a gold herald's staff, while the other carried a trumpet. Between them walked a man who was over four cubits tall, wore tragic clothing and a mask, and was carrying a golden horn of Amaltheia;<sup>81</sup> he was called "The Year." A beautiful woman followed him; she was as tall as he was, was decked out in a great deal of gold and a striking . . . , and was carrying a garland of persea<sup>82</sup> in one hand and a palm-branch in the other. Her name was Pentetēris.<sup>83</sup> She was followed by the four Seasons, who were elaborately costumed and each of whom carried the crops appropriate to her. Next after them were two incense-burners six cubits long made of gold and decorated with ivy; between them was a rectangular altar made of gold. Then came more satyrs wearing gold garlands made to resemble ivy and dressed in dark red robes; some were carrying a gold pitcher, others a *karchēsion*.<sup>84</sup> After them marched the poet Philiscus,<sup>85</sup> who was a priest of Dionysus, and all the artists associated with Dionysus. Immediately after them were carried Delphic tripods, which were prizes for the *chorēgoi*<sup>86</sup> responsible for the athletes; the one for the boys' events was nine cubits high,

ing) to the period between games and festivals we would say were celebrated every fourth year.

<sup>84</sup> A type of drinking cup; see 11.474d–5c, and cf. below.

<sup>85</sup> The tragedian Philiscus of Corcyra (*TrGF* 104 T 4).

<sup>86</sup> See 3.103f n. The men referred to here were presumably responsible for organizing various classes of competitions.



## BOOK V

without anyone touching it; pour a libation of milk from a gold libation bowl; and sit down again. It held a Dionysiac staff garlanded with strips of cloth in its left hand; and the goddess wore a gold ivy-garland set with precious stones made to resemble grape-clusters. The statue was fitted with a canopy, and four gilded torches had been fastened to the corners of the cart. Another four-wheeled cart 20 cubits long and 16 cubits wide was pulled along immediately behind this one by 300 men. A wine-press 24 cubits high, 15 cubits wide and full of grapes had been constructed on top of it. 60 satyrs were trampling the grapes and singing a grape-pressing song to the accompaniment of pipes, and Silenus was supervising them; the grape-must ran everywhere in the street. Immediately after it came a four-wheeled cart 25 cubits long and 14 cubits wide, pulled by 600 men. On this was a wineskin with a capacity of 3000 amphoras, stitched together from leopard skins; it too flooded the street as it was slowly allowed to empty out. It was followed by 120 satyrs and silens wearing garlands, some carrying wine-pitchers, some libation bowls, and others Thericleian drinking cups;<sup>91</sup> all the vessels were made of gold. Close behind them came a silver mixing-bowl with a capacity of 600 amphoras on top of a four-wheeled wagon pulled by 600 men. It had figures worked in relief beneath the brim and handles and around the base, and a gold garland set with jewels ran around its middle. Immediately after it came two silver cup-stands 12 cubits long and six cubits high; they had elaborate ornaments

<sup>91</sup> See 11.470e–2e.

200 τριάκοντα, ὁ δὲ ἐλάχιστος μετρητήν. ἐπόμπευσαν δὲ  
 τρίποδες χρυσοῖ μεγάλοι τέτταρες· καὶ χρυσωματο-  
 θήκη χρυσῇ διάλιθος πηχῶν δέκα ὕψος, ἔχουσα  
 βασμοὺς ἑξ, ἐν οἷς καὶ ζῶα τετραπάλαιστα ἐπιμελῶς  
 πεποιημένα, πολλὰ τὸν ἀριθμόν· καὶ κυλικεῖα δύο καὶ  
 ὑάλινα διάχρυσα δύο· ἐγγυθῆκαι χρυσαῖ τετραπήχεις  
 δύο, ἄλλαι ἐλάττους τρεῖς, || ὑδρίαι δέκα, βωμὸς  
 τρίπηχυς, μαζονόμια εἴκοσι πέντε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα  
 ἐπορεύοντο παῖδες χίλιοι καὶ ἑξακόσιοι ἐνδεδυκότες  
 χιτῶνας λευκοὺς, ἐστεφανωμένοι οἱ μὲν κισσῶ, οἱ δὲ  
 πίτνι· ὧν διακόσιοι μὲν καὶ πεντήκοντα χοεῖς εἶχον  
 χρυσοῦς, τετρακόσιοι δὲ ἀργυροῦς, ἕτεροι δὲ τρια-  
 κόσιοι καὶ εἴκοσι ψυκτήρια ἔφερον χρυσᾶ, οἱ δὲ ἀρ-  
 γυρᾶ. μεθ' οὓς ἄλλοι παῖδες ἔφερον κεράμια πρὸς τὴν  
 τοῦ γλυκισμοῦ χρεῖαν, ὧν εἴκοσι μὲν ἦν χρυσᾶ,  
 πεντήκοντα δὲ ἀργυρᾶ, τριακόσια δὲ κεκηρογρα-  
 φημένα | χρώμασι παντοίοις. καὶ κερασθέντων ἐν ταῖς  
 b ὑδρίαις καὶ πίθοις πάντες κοσμίως ἐγλυκάνθησαν οἱ  
 ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ.

Ἐξῆς τούτοις καταλέγει τετραπήχεις τραπέζας, ἐφ'  
 ὧν πολλὰ θεᾶς ἄξια πολυτελῶς κατεσκευασμένα περι-  
 ἤγετο θεάματα. ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ τῆς Σεμέλης θάλαμος, ἐν  
 ᾧ ἔχουσαι χιτῶνας τινὲς διαχρύσους καὶ λιθοκολ-  
 λήτους τῶν πολυτιμῶν. οὐκ ἄξιον δ' ἦν παραλιπεῖν  
 τήνδε τὴν τετράκυκλον, μῆκος οὖσαν πηχῶν εἴκοσι  
 c δύο, πλάτος δεκατεσσάρων, ὑπὸ | ἀνδρῶν ἐλκομένην  
 πεντακοσίων· ἐφ' ἧς ἄντρον ἦν βαθὺ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν  
 κισσῶ καὶ μίλῳ. ἐκ τούτου περιστρεφαὶ καὶ φάσσαι καὶ

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cooling vessels, the largest of which had a capacity of 30 amphoras, the smallest a capacity of one. Four large gold tripods followed in the procession; also a gold storage chest for gold vessels, which was set with precious stones and ten cubits tall, with six shelves on which were a large number of carefully executed figures four palms<sup>94</sup> high. Also two cup-stands and two gilded vessels made of glass; two gold stands four cubits high, and three other smaller ones; ten water-jars; an altar three cubits long; and 25 platters. After these items came 1600 boys wearing white tunics and garlands, some of ivy and some of pine. 250 boys held gold pitchers, 400 held silver pitchers, and another 320 carried gold wine-cooling vessels, while the others carried silver ones. After them came other boys carrying jars used for sweets, 20 of them made of gold and 50 of silver, while 300 had encaustic decoration in various colors. When the contents of the water-jars and the wine-casks were mixed together, everyone in the stadium got a slight whiff of the sweet smell.

Immediately after these items he lists tables four cubits long, on top of which numerous expensively prepared spectacles well worth seeing were carried around. Among these was Semele's<sup>95</sup> bedroom, in which some of the female figures wore gilded tunics set with precious stones. It would not be right to pass over this four-wheeled cart, which was 22 cubits long and 14 cubits wide and was hauled by 500 men. On top of it was a cave very deeply covered by ivy and smilax. Pigeons, ringdoves, and turtledoves

<sup>94</sup> About 16 inches.

<sup>95</sup> Semele was Dionysus' mortal mother.

ὀκτώ, ὀνελάφων ἑπτά, καὶ συνωρίδες τέσσαρες ὄνων  
 ἀγρίων, ἄρματα τέσσαρα. ἐπὶ δὲ πάντων τούτων ἀν-  
 εβεβήκει παιδάρια χιτῶνας ἔχοντα ἡνιοχικοὺς καὶ  
 πετάσους. παρανεβεβήκει δὲ παιδισκάρια διεσκευ-  
 ασμένα πελταρίοις καὶ θυρσολόγχοις, κεκοσμημένα  
 ἱματίοις καὶ χρυσίοις. ἐστεφάνωτο δὲ τὰ μὲν ἡνιο-  
 χοῦντα παιδάρια πίτυι, τὰ δὲ παιδισκάρια κισσῷ.  
 201 ἐπῆσαν δὲ καὶ συνωρίδες καμήλων <ἕξ>, ἕξ ἑκατέρου ||  
 μέρους τρεῖς· αἷς ἐπηκολούθουν ἀπῆναι ὑφ' ἡμιόνων  
 ἀγόμεναι. αὗται δ' εἶχον σκηναὺς βαρβαρικάς, ἐφ' ὧν  
 ἐκάθηντο γυναῖκες Ἰνδαὶ καὶ ἕτεραι κεκοσμημέναι ὥς  
 αἰχμάλωτοι. κάμηλοι δ' αἱ μὲν ἔφερον λιβανωτοῦ  
 μνᾶς τριακοσίας, σμύρνης τριακοσίας, κρόκον καὶ  
 κασίας καὶ κινναμώμου καὶ ἵριδος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν  
 ἀρωμάτων διακοσίας. ἐχόμενοι τούτων ἦσαν Αἰθίοπες  
 δωροφόροι, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἔφερον ὀδόντας ἑξακοσίους,  
 ἕτεροι δὲ ἐβένον κορμοὺς δισχιλίους, ἄλλοι χρυσοῦ  
 b καὶ ἀργυρίου κρατῆρας ἐξήκοντα καὶ ψήγματα | χρυ-  
 σοῦ. μεθ' οὓς ἐπόμεπυσαν κυνηγοὶ † β' † ἔχοντες  
 σιβύνας ἐπιχρύσους. ἤγοντο δὲ καὶ κύνες δισχίλιοι  
 τετρακόσιοι, οἱ μὲν Ἰνδοί, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ Ὑρκανοὶ καὶ  
 Μολοσσοὶ καὶ ἐτέρων γενῶν. ἐξῆς ἄνδρες ἑκατὸν  
 πεντήκοντα φέροντες δένδρα, ἐξ ὧν ἀνήρτητο θηρία  
 παντοδαπὰ καὶ ὄρνεα. εἴτ' ἐφέροντο ἐν ἀγγείοις ψιτ-  
 τακοὶ καὶ ταῖ καὶ μελεαγρίδες καὶ φασιανοὶ ὄρنيθες  
 καὶ ἄλλοι Αἰθιοπικοί, πλήθει πολλοί.

Εἰπὼν δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πλείιστα καὶ καταλέξας ζώων  
 c ἀγέλας ἐπιφέρει· πρόβατα Αἰθιοπικὰ ἑκατὸν | τριά-

κοντα, Ἀράβια τριακόσια, Εὐβοϊκὰ εἴκοσι, καὶ ὀλό-  
 λευκοὶ βόες Ἰνδικοὶ εἴκοσι ἕξ, Αἰθιοπικοὶ ὀκτώ, ἄρ-  
 κτος λευκὴ μεγάλη μία, παρδάλεις τέσσαρες καὶ  
 δέκα, πάνθηροι ἑκαίδεκα, λυγκία τέσσαρα, ἄρκηλοι  
 τρεῖς, καμηλοπάρδαλις μία, ῥινόκερως Αἰθιοπικὸς εἷς.  
 ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τετρακύκλου Διόνυσος περὶ τὸν τῆς Ῥέας  
 βωμὸν καταπεφευγὼς ὅτε ὑπὸ Ἥρας ἐδιώκετο, στέ-  
 φανον ἔχων χρυσοῦν, Πριάπου αὐτῷ παρεστῶτος  
 ἐστεφανωμένου χρυσῷ κισσίνῳ. τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἥρας  
 d ἄγαλμα στεφάνην | εἶχε χρυσῇν. Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ καὶ  
 Πτολεμαίου ἀγάλματα ἐστεφανωμένα στεφάνοις κισ-  
 σίνοις ἐκ χρυσοῦ. τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀρετῆς ἄγαλμα τὸ παρ-  
 εστὸς τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ στέφανον εἶχεν ἐλαίας χρυσοῦν.  
 καὶ Πρίαπος δ' αὐτοῖς συμπαρῆν ἔχων στέφανον  
 κίσσινον ἐκ χρυσοῦ. Κόρινθος δ' ἡ πόλις παρεστῶσα  
 τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ ἐστεφάνωτο διαδήματι χρυσῷ. παρ-  
 έκειντο δὲ πᾶσι τούτοις κυλικεῖον μεστὸν χρυσω-  
 μάτων κρατήρ τε χρυσοῦς μετρητῶν πέντε. τῇ δὲ  
 τετρακύκλῳ ταύτῃ ἠκολούθουν γυναῖκες ἔχουσαι ἱμά-  
 e τια πολυτελῇ | καὶ κόσμον· προσηγορεύοντο δὲ πό-  
 λεις, αἳ τε ἀπ' Ἰωνίας καὶ <αἱ> λοιπαὶ Ἑλληνίδες ὅσαι  
 τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τὰς νήσους κατοικοῦσαι ὑπὸ τοὺς  
 Πέρσας ἐτάχθησαν· ἐφόρουν δὲ πᾶσαι στεφάνους  
 χρυσοῦς. ἐφέρετο καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων τετρακύκλων θύρσος  
 ἐνενηκοντάπηχυς χρυσοῦς καὶ λόγχη ἀργυρᾷ ἐξηκον-  
 τάπηχυς καὶ ἐν ἄλλῃ φαλλὸς χρυσοῦς πηχῶν ἑκατὸν  
 καὶ εἴκοσι διαγεγραμμένος καὶ διαδεδεμένος στέμ-

## BOOK V

wrapped in strips of gilt cloth, and had a gold star six cubits in circumference at its tip. Although many other items of different sorts were mentioned as part of these processions, I selected only those that included gold and silver. For there were many things put on display worth hearing about, including a large number of wild animals and horses, and 24 huge lions. There were also other four-wheeled carts, which did not only carry images of kings, because many carried images of gods. After them in the procession marched a chorus of 600 men, with 300 lyre-players among them playing in harmony and holding lyres entirely covered with gold and gold garlands. After them 2000 bulls, all the same color and with their horns gilded, passed through. They wore gold frontlets, garlands between their horns, and necklaces and aegises on their chests; all these items were made of gold. After this there was a procession dedicated to Zeus and a large number of other gods, and after all of them to Alexander, who was made of gold and carried on a cart pulled by real elephants, with Victory and Athena on either side of him. Many thrones made of ivory and gold were also carried in the procession; a gold crown lay on one of them, a gold double horn on another, a gold garland on another, and a horn of solid gold on another. A garland made of 10000 gold coins lay on the throne of Ptolemy Soter. 350 gold incense-burners were also carried in the procession, as were gilded altars decorated with gold garlands; four gold torches 10 cubits high had been fastened to one of them.

σταν δὲ καὶ ἐσχάραι ἐπίχρυσοι δύο, ὧν ἡ μὲν δωδεκά-  
 πηχυσ τῇ περιμέτρῳ, τεσσαρακοντάπηχυσ ὕψει, ἡ δὲ  
 πηχῶν πεντεκαίδεκα. ἐπόμευσαν δὲ καὶ Δελφικοὶ  
 c τρίποδες | χρυσοῖ ἐννέα ἐκ πηχῶν τεσσάρων, ἄλλοι  
 ὀκτὼ <ἐκ> πηχῶν ἕξ, ἄλλος πηχῶν τριάκοντα, ἐφ' οὗ  
 ἦν ζῶα χρυσᾷ πενταπήχη καὶ στέφανος κύκλῳ χρυ-  
 σοῦς ἀμπέλινος. παρῆλθον δὲ καὶ φοίνικες ἐπίχρυσοι  
 ὀκταπήχεις ἑπτὰ καὶ κηρύκειον ἐπίχρυσον πηχῶν  
 τεσσαράκοντα πέντε καὶ κεραυνὸς ἐπίχρυσος πηχῶν  
 τεσσαράκοντα ναὸς τε ἐπίχρυσος, οὗ ἡ περίμετρος  
 πηχῶν τεσσαράκοντα· δίκηρας πρὸς τούτοις ὀκτά-  
 πηχυ. πολὺ δὲ καὶ ζῶων πλήθος ἐπιχρύσων συνεπόμε-  
 d πευεν, ὧν ἦν τὰ πολλὰ δωδεκαπήχη· | καὶ θηρία  
 ὑπεράγοντα τοῖς μεγέθεσι καὶ αἰετοὶ πηχῶν εἴκοσι.  
 στέφανοί τε χρυσοῖ ἐπόμευσαν τρισχίλιοι διακό-  
 σιοι, ἕτερός τε μυστικὸς χρυσοῦς λίθοις πολυτελέσι  
 κεκοσμημένος ὀγδοηκοντάπηχυσ· οὗτος δὲ περιετίθετο  
 τῷ τοῦ Βερενικείου θυρώματι· αἰγὶς τε ὁμοίως χρυσῇ.  
 ἐπόμευσαν δὲ καὶ στεφάναι χρυσαῖ πάνυ πολλαί, ἃς  
 ἔφερον παιδίσκαι πολυτελῶς κεκοσμημέναι· ὧν μία  
 δίπηχυσ εἰς ὕψος, τὴν δὲ περίμετρον ἔχουσα ἐκκαί-  
 e δεκα πηχῶν. ἐπόμευσε δὲ καὶ θώραξ χρυσοῦς |  
 πηχῶν δώδεκα καὶ ἕτερος ἀργυροῦς πηχῶν ὀκτωκαί-  
 δεκα<sup>27</sup>, ἔχων ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ κεραυνοὺς χρυσοῦς δεκα-  
 πήχεις δύο καὶ στέφανον δρυὸς διάλιθον· ἀσπίδες  
 χρυσαῖ εἴκοσι, πανοπλῖαι χρυσαῖ τέσσαρες καὶ ἑξ-  
 ήκοντα, κνημίδες χρυσαῖ τριπήχεις δύο, λεκάναι χρυ-  
 σαῖ δεκαδύο, φιάλαι πολλαὶ πάνυ τὸν ἀριθμόν, οἱ-



## BOOK V

Two gilded braziers were also carried in the procession; one was 12 cubits in circumference and 40 cubits high, while the other was 15 cubits in circumference. Nine gold Delphic tripods about four cubits high were also carried in the procession, along with eight others about six cubits high, and another 30 cubits high that had gold figures five cubits high on it and a gold garland made to resemble grapevines around it. Seven gilded palmtrees eight cubits high also passed by, along with a gilded herald's staff 45 cubits long, a gilded lightning bolt 40 cubits long, and a gilded shrine 40 cubits in circumference; and in addition to these an eight-cubit double horn. A large number of gilded figures were also carried in the procession, many 12 cubits high; also extraordinarily large wild animals and eagles 20 cubits high. 3200 gold garlands were carried in the procession, along with another gold initiate's garland 80 cubits in size set with precious stones—this was placed around the doorway of Berenice's shrine—and likewise a gold aegis. An immense number of gold crowns were also carried in the procession by expensively dressed girls; one crown was two cubits high and 16 cubits in circumference. A gold breastplate 12 cubits long was also carried in the procession, along with another made of silver that was 18 cubits long and had two gold lightning bolts ten cubits long on it and a garland of oak-leaves set with jewels. Also 20 gold shields; 64 sets of gold armor; two sets of gold greaves three cubits high; 12 gold basins; a very large number of

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<sup>27</sup> ιη' (i.e. ὀκτώκαιδέκα) ἐννέα Α

νοχόαι τριάκοντα, ἐξάλειπτρα μεγάλα δέκα, ὑδρίαι δεκαδύο, μαζονόμια πεντήκοντα, τράπεζαι διάφοροι, κυλικεῖα χρυσωμάτων πέντε, κέρας ὀλόχρυσον πηχῶν  
 f τριάκοντα. | ταῦτα δὲ τὰ χρυσώματα ἐκτὸς ἦν τῶν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Διονύσου πομπῇ διενεχθέντων. εἴτ' ἀργυρωμάτων ἅμαξαι τετρακόσiai καὶ χρυσωμάτων εἴκοσι, ἀρωμάτων δὲ ὀκτακόσiai. ἐπὶ δὲ πᾶσιν ἐπόμευσαν αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ ἵππικαὶ καὶ πεζικαί, πᾶσαι καθωπλισμέναι θαυμασίως. πεζοὶ μὲν εἰς πέντε μυριάδας καὶ ἐπτακισχιλίους καὶ ἑξακοσίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ δισμύριοι  
 203 τρισχίλιοι διακόσιοι. || πάντες δ' οὗτοι ἐπόμευσαν τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν ἐκάστῳ ἡμφιεσμένοι στολὴν καὶ τὰς προσηκούσας ἔχοντες πανοπλίας. ἐκτὸς δ' ὧν πάντες οὗτοι εἶχον πανοπλιῶν καὶ ἄλλαι πλείσται ἦσαν ἀποκείμεναι, ὧν οὐδὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀναγράψαι ῥάδιον· κατέλεξε δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Καλλιξείνος. ἐστεφανώθησαν δ' ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ στεφάνοις χρυσοῖς <καὶ> εἰκόσι Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ πρῶτος καὶ Βερενίκη εἰκόσι τρισὶν ἐφ' ἀρμάτων χρυσῶν καὶ τεμένεσιν ἐν Δωδώνῃ. καὶ  
 b ἐγένετο τὸ δαπάνημα τοῦ | νομίσματος τάλαντα δισχίλια διακόσια τριάκοντα ἐννέα, μναῖ πεντήκοντα· καὶ ταῦτ' ἡριθμήθη πάντα τοῖς οἰκονόμοις διὰ τὴν τῶν στεφανούντων προθυμίαν πρὸ τοῦ τὰς θέας παρελθεῖν. ὁ δὲ Φιλάδελφος Πτολεμαῖος υἱὸς αὐτῶν εἰκόσι χρυσαῖς δυσὶ μὲν ἐφ' ἀρμάτων χρυσῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ κιόνων ἑξαπήχει μιᾷ, πενταπήχεσι πέντε, τετραπήχεσι ἑξ.

Ποία, ἄνδρες δαιτυμόνες, βασιλεία οὕτως γέγονε πολύχρυσος; οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ Περσῶν καὶ Βαβυλῶνος

## BOOK V

libation bowls; 30 wine-pitchers; ten large unguent-flasks; 12 water-jars; 50 platters; various tables; five cup-stands for gold vessels; and a solid gold horn 30 cubits long. These gold vessels did not include those carried in the procession of Dionysus. Then there were 400 carts loaded with silver vessels, 20 loaded with gold vessels, and 800 loaded with spices. After all these the cavalry and infantry forces, all marvellously outfitted, moved in procession. There were about 57600 infantry and 23200 cavalry. All of them marched in the procession wearing the clothing that was right for them and outfitted in the appropriate armor. In addition to the suits of armor worn by all these men, there were a substantial number of others in storage; it is not very easy to offer a full count of them, but Callixeinus computed the number. Victors in the contest were honored with gold garlands and portrait-statues, and Ptolemy I and Berenice were honored with three portrait-statues carried on gold carts, as well as with sacred precincts in Dodona. The cost in coined money was 2239 talents and 50 minas, and the entire sum was paid to the officials in charge before the shows were over, as a result of the enthusiasm of those who provided the garlands. Ptolemy Philadelphus, their son, was honored with two gold portrait-statues carried on gold carts and set on columns, one six cubits high, while five were five cubits high, and six were four cubits high.

What kingdom, my fellow diners, has ever been so rich in gold? Certainly not the one that seized the wealth of

κατασκευῆς εἰρήκαμεν, φέρ' εἵπωμεν (ἀκοῆς γάρ  
 ἐστὶν ἄξια) καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλοπάτορος βασιλέως  
 κατεσκευασμένα σκάφη. περὶ ὧν ὁ αὐτὸς Καλλίξιενος  
 ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας οὕτως λέ-  
 γων· τὴν τεσσαρακοντῆρην ναῦν κατεσκεύασεν ὁ Φιλο-  
 f πάτωρ τὸ μῆκος ἔχουσιν διακοσίων | ὀγδοήκοντα  
 πηχῶν, ὀκτὼ δὲ καὶ τριάκοντα ἀπὸ παρόδου ἐπὶ πά-  
 ρον, ὕψος δὲ ἕως ἀκροστολίου τεσσαράκοντα ὀκτὼ  
 πηχῶν. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν πρυμνητικῶν ἀφλάστων ἐπὶ τὸ τῇ  
 θαλάσσῃ μέρος αὐτῆς τρεῖς πρὸς τοῖς πεντήκοντα  
 πήχεις. πηδάλια δ' εἶχε τέτταρα τριακονταπήχη, κώ-  
 πας δὲ θρανιτικὰς ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα πηχῶν τὰς  
 204 μεγίστας, || αἱ διὰ τὸ μόλυβδον ἔχειν ἐν τοῖς ἐγχει-  
 ριδίοις καὶ γεγονέναι λίαν εἴσω βαρεῖαι κατὰ τὴν  
 ζύγῳσιν εὐήρεις ὑπῆρχον ἐπὶ τῆς χρείας. δίπρωρος δ'  
 ἐγεγόνει καὶ δίπρυμνος καὶ ἔμβολα εἶχεν ἐπτὰ· τού-  
 των ἐν μὲν ἡγούμενον, τὰ δ' ὑποστέλλοντα, τινὰ δὲ  
 κατὰ τὰς ἐπωτίδας. ὑποζώματα δὲ ἐλάμβανε δώδεκα·  
 ἑξακοσίων δ' ἦν ἕκαστον πηχῶν. εὐρυθμος δ' ἦν καθ'  
 ὑπερβολήν. θαυμαστὸς δ' ἦν καὶ ὁ ἄλλος κόσμος τῆς  
 νεώς· ζῶα μὲν γὰρ εἶχεν οὐκ ἐλάττω δώδεκα πηχῶν  
 b κατὰ πρύμναν τε καὶ κατὰ πρῶραν, | καὶ πᾶς τόπος  
 αὐτῆς κηρογραφία κατεπεποίκιλτο, τὸ δ' ἔγκωπον  
 ἅπαν μέχρι τῆς τρόπεως κισσίνην φυλλάδα καὶ θύρ-  
 σους εἶχε πέριξ. πολὺς δ' ἦν καὶ ὁ τῶν ὄπλων κόσμος·  
 ἀνεπλήρου δὲ τὰ προσδεόμενα τῆς νεὸς μέρη. γενο-  
 μένης δὲ ἀναπείρας ἐδέξατο ἐρέτας πλείους τῶν τετρα-  
 κισχιλίων, εἰς δὲ τὰς ὑπηρεσίας τετρακοσίους, εἰς δὲ

τὸ κατάστρομα ἐπιβάτας τρισχιλίους ἀποδέοντας  
 ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα· καὶ χωρὶς ὑπὸ τὰ ζύγια  
 c πλήθος ἀνθρώπων ἕτερον ἐπισιτισμοῦ τε | οὐκ ὀλίγον.  
 καθειλκύσθη δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ ἐσχαρίου τινός, ὃ  
 φασι παγῆναι πεντήκοντα πλοίων πεντηρικῶν ξυλεία,  
 ὑπὸ δὲ ὄχλου μετὰ βοῆς καὶ σαλπίγγων κατήγετο.  
 ὕστερον δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ Φοινίκης τις ἐπενόησε τὴν καθολ-  
 κήν, τάφρον ὑποστησάμενος ἴσην τῇ νηὶ κατὰ μῆκος,  
 ἣν πλησίον τοῦ λιμένος ὥρυξε. ταύτῃ δὲ τοὺς θεμε-  
 λίους κατωκοδόμησε λίθῳ στερεῶ πρὸς πέντε πήχεις  
 τὸ βάθος, καὶ διὰ τούτων φάλαγγας ἐπικαρσίας κατὰ  
 d πλάτος τῆς τάφρου διώσας συνεχεῖς τετράπηχυν | εἰς  
 βάθος τόπον ἀπολειπούσας. καὶ ποιήσας εἴσρουν ἀπὸ  
 τῆς θαλάσσης ἐνέπλησεν αὐτῆς πάντα τὸν ὀρυχθέντα  
 τόπον, εἰς ὃν ῥαδίως ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων ἀνδρῶν εἰσ-  
 ἤγαγε τὴν ναῦν < . . . > τὸ ἀνοιχθὲν κατ' ἀρχὰς  
 ἐμφράξαντας μετεξαντλήσαι πάλιν τὴν θάλασσαν  
 ὀργάνοις· τούτου δὲ γενομένου ἐδρασθῆναι τὸ πλοῖον  
 ἀσφαλῶς ἐπὶ τῶν προειρημένων φαλάγγων.

Κατεσκεύασεν δ' ὁ Φιλοπάτωρ καὶ ποτάμιον πλοῖ-  
 ον, τὴν θαλαμηγὸν καλουμένην, τὸ μῆκος ἔχουσαν  
 ἡμισταδίου, τὸ δὲ εὖρος ἧ πλατύτατον τριάκοντα πη-  
 e χῶν· τὸ δὲ ὕψος | σὺν τῷ τῆς σκηνῆς ἀναστήματι  
 μικρὸν ἀπέδει τεσσαράκοντα πηχῶν. τὸ δὲ σχῆμα  
 αὐτῆς οὔτε ταῖς μακραῖς ναυσὶν οὔτε ταῖς στρογ-  
 γύλαις ἐοικός, ἀλλὰ παρηλλαγμένον τι καὶ πρὸς τὴν  
 χρείαν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ βάθος. κάτωθεν μὲν γὰρ ἀλι-  
 τευῆς καὶ πλατεία, τῷ δ' ὄγκῳ μετέωρος· τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τῶν

## BOOK V

2850 marines on deck; apart from them, there was another large group of people and a considerable amount of provisions below deck. It was originally launched from a sort of platform, which they say was constructed with the wood from 50 "fives," and was hauled into the water by a large crowd of men accompanied by shouting and trumpets. Later a Phoenician conceived a way to launch it by digging a ditch near the harbor as long as the ship. He built a foundation for the ditch about five cubits deep out of hard rock, and all along its length he set transverse rollers, placing them continuously so that they left a space four cubits deep.<sup>108</sup> After he cut a channel from the sea, he filled the entire excavated area with sea-water, and easily brought the ship into it with common laborers . . . After they barred the opening at its entrance, they drained out the sea-water again with mechanical pumps; when this was done, the ship sat securely on the rollers mentioned above.

Philopator also built a river-boat, the so-called *thalamēgos* ("house-boat"), which was half a stade long and 30 cubits wide at its broadest point; its height, including the pavilion when it was set up, was slightly less than 40 cubits. Its shape was unlike either long ships or round ships,<sup>109</sup> but had been altered a bit in its draft to make it usable on the river. For it was shallow and flat below, but rose up high

<sup>108</sup> The rollers were one cubit high, and thus decreased the effective depth of the ditch by that amount.

<sup>109</sup> Warships and merchant vessels, respectively.



## BOOK V

with its bulk; and its ends, especially toward the prow, were quite extended, and its curve appeared graceful. It had two prows and two sterns, and projected up because of the fact that the waves in the river often rise quite high. Dining-rooms, bedrooms, and the other facilities necessary to make life onboard possible were constructed in the center of its hull. A pair of covered walkways ran around the ship on three sides. One was at least five *plethra*<sup>110</sup> around, while the other, below decks, was arranged like a peristyle courtyard, and the one on the upper level was arranged like a closed courtyard surrounded by screens and windows. As you came on board at the stern, there was an initial vestibule that was open in front and had a row of columns set around it. In the portion of the vestibule toward the prow an entrance-way made of ivory and very expensive wood had been constructed. After you passed through this, there was a roofed area whose structure resembled a theatrical stage-building. There was, once again, another entrance-way in the central side of this room, in the rear. A gateway with four doors led into it, and windows to the left and right provided fresh air. The largest room was connected to the ones just described; it had a row of columns set around it and room for 20 couches. Most of it had been constructed of split cedar and Milesian cypress; the 20 doors in the portico had been joined together from planks of citron-wood and decorated with ivory. The decorative

<sup>110</sup> Approximately 500 feet.



τὰ ῥόπτρα ἐξ ἐρυθροῦ γεγονότα χαλκοῦ τὴν χρύ-  
 c σωσιν | ἐκ πυρὸς εἰλήφει. τῶν δὲ κιόνων τὰ μὲν  
 σώματα ἦν κυπαρίσσина, αἱ δὲ κεφαλαὶ Κορινθιουρ-  
 γεῖς, ἐλέφαντι καὶ χρυσῷ διακεκοσμημένοι. τὸ δὲ  
 ἐπιστύλιον ἐκ χρυσοῦ τὸ ὅλον· ἐφ' οὗ διάζωσμα ἐφήρ-  
 μοστο περιφανῇ ζώδια ἔχον ἐλεφάντινα μείζω πηχυ-  
 αίων, τῇ μὲν τέχνῃ μέτρια, τῇ χορηγίᾳ δὲ ἀξιο-  
 θαύμαστα. ἐπέκειτο δὲ καὶ στέγη καλὴ τῷ συμποσίῳ  
 τετράγωνος κυπαρισσίνη· γλυπτοὶ δ' αὐτῆς ἦσαν οἱ  
 κόσμοι, χρυσῇν ἔχοντες τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν. παρέκειτο δὲ  
 d | τῷ συμποσίῳ τούτῳ καὶ κοιτῶν ἐπτάκλινος· ᾧ συν-  
 ἦπτο στενὴ σῦριγξ κατὰ πλάτος τοῦ κύτους χωρίζου-  
 σα τὴν γυναικωνίτιν. ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ συμπόσιον ἐννεά-  
 κλινον ἦν, παραπλήσιον τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῷ μεγάλῳ,  
 καὶ κοιτῶν πεντάκλινος. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄχρι τῆς πρώτης  
 στέγης κατεσκευασμένα τοιαῦτ' ἦν. ἀναβάντων δὲ τὰς  
 παρακειμένας πλησίον τῷ προειρημένῳ κοιτῶνι κλί-  
 μακας οἶκος ἦν ἄλλος πεντάκλινος ὀρόφωμα ῥομ-  
 βωτὸν ἔχων· καὶ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ναὸς Ἀφροδίτης  
 e θολοειδής, | ἐν ᾧ μαρμάρινον ἄγαλμα τῆς θεοῦ. κατ-  
 εναντίον δὲ τούτου ἄλλο συμπόσιον πολυτελὲς περί-  
 πτερον· οἱ γὰρ κίονες αὐτοῦ ἐκ λίθων Ἰνδικῶν συν-  
 ἐκείντο. παρὰ <δὲ> καὶ τούτῳ τῷ συμποσίῳ κοιτῶνες,  
 ἀκόλουθον τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῖς προδεδηλωμένοις  
 ἔχοντες. προάγοντι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν πρῶραν οἶκος ὑπέκειτο  
 Βακχικὸς τρισκαιδεκάκλινος περίπτερος, ἐπίχρυσον  
 ἔχων τὸ γεῖσον ἕως τοῦ περιτρέχοντος ἐπιστυλίου·

## BOOK V

studs on their fronts and the knockers, made of red bronze, had been treated with fire to make them seem to be gilded. The column-shafts were of cypress-wood, while the capitals were of Corinthian workmanship and had been ornamented with ivory and gold. The entire architrave was made of gold, and a frieze that contained striking ivory figures more than a cubit high was attached to its top; the workmanship of the figures was indifferent, but the amount of money spent on them was astonishing. The dining-room had a beautiful square<sup>111</sup> ceiling of cypress-wood; its ornamentation was carved and gilded. Next to this dining-room was a bedroom large enough for seven couches. A narrow passageway that ran the width of the ship was connected to this room and divided off the women's quarters; these included a dining-room large enough for nine couches, which was decorated as expensively as the large one, and a bedroom large enough for five couches. This was how the first deck was constructed. When you went up the ladders located near the bedroom mentioned above, there was another room large enough for five couches with a rhombus-shaped<sup>112</sup> ceiling; close to it was a rotunda-like shrine of Aphrodite that contained a marble statue of the goddess. Opposite this was another lavish peripteral dining-room; its columns were of Indian marble. Next to this dining-room were bedrooms decorated like the areas described above. As you moved forward toward the prow, there was a peristyle room dedicated to Dionysus large enough for 13 couches, with a cornice gilded up to the level of the architrave that ran

<sup>111</sup> Perhaps "coffered."

<sup>112</sup> Perhaps "made of rhombus-shaped panels."

στέγη δὲ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ διαθέσεως οἰκεία. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ  
 κατὰ μὲν τὴν δεξιὰν πλευρὰν ἄντρον κατεσκευάστο,  
 f οὗ χρῶμα μὲν | ἦν ἔχον τὴν πετροποιίαν ἐκ λίθων  
 ἀληθινῶν καὶ χρυσοῦ δεδημιουργημένην· ἴδρυτο δ' ἐν  
 αὐτῷ τῆς τῶν βασιλέων συγγενείας ἀγάλματα εἰκονι-  
 κὰ λίθου λυχνέως. ἐπιτερπὲς δ' ἱκανῶς καὶ ἄλλο συμ-  
 πόσιον ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ μεγίστου οἴκου στέγῃ κείμενον,  
 σκηνῆς ἔχον τάξιν· ᾧ στέγη μὲν οὐκ ἐπῆν, διατόναια  
 206 δὲ τοξοειδῇ διὰ ποσοῦ τινος ἐνετέτατο διαστήματος, ||  
 ἐφ' ᾧν αὐλαῖαι κατὰ τὸν ἀνάπλουν ἀλουργεῖς ἐνεπε-  
 τάννυντο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο αἶθριον ἐξεδέχετο τὴν ἐπάνω  
 τῆς ὑποκειμένης προστάδος τάξιν κατέχον· ᾧ κλιμάξ  
 τε ἐλικτὴ φέρουσα πρὸς τὸν κρυπτὸν περίπατον παρ-  
 ἔκειτο καὶ συμπόσιον ἐννεάκλινον, τῇ διαθέσει τῆς  
 κατασκευῆς Αἰγύπτιον· οἱ γὰρ γεγονότες αὐτόθι κί-  
 νες ἀνήγοντο στρογγύλοι, διαλλάττοντες τοῖς σπον-  
 δύλοις, τοῦ μὲν μέλανος, τοῦ δὲ λευκοῦ παράλληλα  
 b τιθεμένων· εἰσὶ δ' αὐτῶν | καὶ αἱ κεφαλαὶ τῷ σχήματι  
 περιφερεῖς, ᾧν ἡ μὲν ὅλη περιγραφὴ παραπλησία  
 ῥόδοις ἐπὶ μικρὸν ἀναπεπταμένοις ἐστίν. περὶ δὲ τὸν  
 προσαγορευόμενον κάλαθον οὐχ ἔλικες, καθάπερ ἐπὶ  
 τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, καὶ φύλλα τραχέα περικείται, λωτῶν  
 δὲ ποταμίων κάλυκες καὶ φοινίκων ἀρτιβλάστων καρ-  
 πός· ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ πλειόνων ἄλλων ἀνθέων γέγλυ-  
 πται γένη. τὸ δ' ὑπὸ τὴν ρίζαν, ὃ δὴ τῷ συνάπτοντι  
 πρὸς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπίκειται σπονδύλῳ, κιβωρίων ἄν-  
 c θεσι καὶ φύλλοις ὥσανεὶ καταπεπλεγμένοις | ὁμοίαν  
 εἶχε τὴν διάθεσιν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν κίονας οὕτως Αἰγύ-

## BOOK V

around the room; the ceiling was appropriate to the god's character. A cave had been constructed on the right side of the room; its exterior featured stonework of actual jewels and gold. Portrait-statues of the royal family fashioned from translucent marble were set inside it. Another very pleasant dining-room designed like a tent was located directly above the largest room. It lacked a roof, but cross-supports had been stretched into a bow-shape a considerable distance above it, and when the ship was under sail, purple curtains were suspended from them. After this came an atrium that occupied the area above the vestibule one deck down. Next to this was a spiral staircase that led to the enclosed walkway, and a dining-room large enough for nine couches. It was decorated in the Egyptian style; because the columns in it increased in diameter from the bottom to the top, with drums of different sizes that alternated between black and white. The shape of their capitals is round, and their general appearance is like roses that have barely opened. No volutes or rough foliage surround what is referred to as the basket<sup>113</sup>, as on Greek columns, but there are instead water-lily flowers and dates from palms that have just fruited; and sometimes many other types of flowers have been carved. The portion of the column below the "root" (which rests, of course, on top of the drum that attaches to the capital) is made to resemble the flowers and leaves, seemingly intertwined, of Egyptian beans. This is how the Egyptians make their columns; and

<sup>113</sup> The body of the capital.

πτιοι κατασκευάζουσι· καὶ τοὺς τοίχους δὲ λευκαῖς καὶ μελαίναις διαποικίλλουσι πλινθίσιν, ἐνίστε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλαβαστίτιδος προσαγορευομένης πέτρας. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἕτερα κατὰ μέσον τῆς νεῶς τὸ κύτος ἐν κοίλῃ καὶ κατὰ πᾶν αὐτῆς μέρος οἰκήματα ἦν. ὁ δὲ ἰστὸς ἦν αὐτῆς ἐβδομήκοντα πηχῶν, βύσσινον ἔχων ἰστίον ἀλουργεῖ παρασείῳ κεκοσμημένον. πᾶς δ' ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου πλοῦτος φυλαχθεὶς < . . . > κατελύθη | ὑπὸ τοῦ τελευταίου Πτολεμαίου τοῦ καὶ τὸν Γαβινιακὸν συστησαμένου πόλεμον, οὐκ ἀνδρὸς γενομένου ἀλλ' αὐλητοῦ καὶ μάγον.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς ὑπὸ Ἰέρωνος τοῦ Συρακοσίου κατασκευασθείσης νεῶς, ἥς καὶ Ἀρχιμήδης ἦν ὁ γεωμέτρης ἐπόπτης, οὐκ ἄξιον εἶναι κρίνω σιωπῆσαι, σύγγραμμα ἐκδόντος Μοσχίωνός τινος, ᾧ οὐ παρέργως ἐνέτυχον ὑπογυῖως. γράφει οὖν ὁ Μοσχίων οὕτως· Διοκλείδης μὲν ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης θαυμάζεται ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸς τὴν Ῥοδίων πόλιν ὑπὸ Δημητρίου προσαχθείσῃ τοῖς  
e τείχεσιν | ἐλεπόλει, Τίμαιος δ' ἐπὶ τῇ πυρᾷ τῇ κατασκευασθείσῃ Διονυσίῳ τῷ Σικελίας τυράννῳ, καὶ Ἰερώνυμος ἐπὶ τῇ κατασκευῇ τῆς ἄρμαμάξης, ἣ συνέβαινε κατακομισθῆναι τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου σῶμα, Πολύ-

<sup>114</sup> Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysus (reigned 80–58, 55–51 BCE), who was temporarily expelled from his throne and later restored by Aulus Gabinius, whose troops he then used to suppress revolts. He was not in fact the last Ptolemy.

## BOOK V

they vary the color of their walls with white and black bricks, and occasionally also with bricks made from the stone referred to as alabaster. There were many other rooms in the space in the center of the ship's hold and in every other part of it. Its mast was 70 cubits high and had a linen sail ornamented with a purple topsail. All King Philadelphus' wealth, although preserved . . . was dissipated by the last Ptolemy<sup>114</sup>, who was also responsible for the Gabinian war and was not a real man but a pipe-player and a charlatan.

I do not think it right to keep quiet about the ship constructed by Hieron of Syracuse<sup>115</sup>, for which the mathematician Archimedes served as supervisor, given that a certain Moschion (*FGrH* 575 F 1) published a treatise on the subject, which I recently studied with some care. Moschion, therefore, writes as follows: Diocleides of Abdera<sup>116</sup> is admired for the siege-engine brought up against the walls of the city of Rhodes by Demetrius,<sup>117</sup> Timaeus (*FGrH* 566 F 112) for the pyre built for Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily,<sup>118</sup> Hieronymus (*FGrH* 154 F 2) for the construction of the wagon that carried Alexander's body down to the sea,<sup>119</sup> and Polycleitus (*FGrH* 128 F 4) for the

<sup>115</sup> Hieron II (reigned c.271–216 BCE).

<sup>116</sup> Otherwise unknown, but presumably an author rather than an engineer, given what follows.

<sup>117</sup> I.e. for his literary description of the siege-engine. Demetrius of Macedon (Berve i #258; 336–283 BCE) besieged Rhodes for a year in 305–4, winning the nickname Poliorcetes ("Besieger of Cities").

<sup>118</sup> Presumably Dionysius I (d.367 BCE).

<sup>119</sup> In 323 BCE; Ptolemy I Soter then took the corpse to Egypt.

κλειτος δ' ἐπὶ τῷ λυχνίῳ τῷ κατασκευασθέντι τῷ  
 Πέρσῃ· Ἰέρων δὲ ὁ Συρακοσίων βασιλεύς, ὁ πάντα  
 Ῥωμαίοις φίλος, ἐσπουδάκει μὲν καὶ περὶ ἱερῶν καὶ  
 γυμνασίων κατασκευάς, ἣν δὲ καὶ περὶ ναυπηγίας  
 f φιλότιμος πλοῖα σιτηγὰ | κατασκευαζόμενος, ὧν ἐνὸς  
 τῆς κατασκευῆς μνησθήσομαι. εἰς ὕλην μὲν ξύλωσιν  
 ἐκ τῆς Αἴτνης παρεσκεύαστο ἐξήκοντα τετρηρικῶν  
 σκαφῶν πλήθος<sup>28</sup> ἐξεργάσασθαι δυναμένην. ὥς δὲ  
 ταῦτα ἡτοιμάσατο γόμφους τε καὶ ἐγκοίλια καὶ στα-  
 μῖνας καὶ τὴν εἰς τὴν ἄλλην χρεῖαν ὕλην τὴν μὲν ἐξ  
 Ἰταλίας, τὴν δ' ἐκ Σικελίας, εἰς δὲ σχοινία λευκέαν  
 μὲν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας, κάνναβιν δὲ καὶ πίτταν ἐκ τοῦ Ῥοδα-  
 νοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα τὰ χρειώδη πολλα-  
 χόθεν. συνήγαγε δὲ καὶ ναυπηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους  
 τεχνίτας καὶ καταστήσας ἐκ πάντων Ἀρχίαν τὸν Κο-  
 ρίνθιον ἀρχιτέκτονα παρεκάλεσε προθύμως ἐπιλαβέ-  
 σθαι τῆς κατασκευῆς, προσκαρτερῶν καὶ αὐτὸς τὰς  
 207 ἡμέρας. || τὸ μὲν οὖν ἡμῖσιν τοῦ παντὸς τῆς νεῶς ἐν  
 μησὶν ἐξ ἐξεργάσατο < . . . > καὶ ταῖς ἐκ μολίβου  
 ποιηθείσαις κεραμίσιν αἰὲ καθ' ὃ ναυπηγηθείη μέρος  
 περιλαμβάνετο, ὥς ἂν τριακοσίων ὄντων τῶν τὴν  
 ὕλην ἐργαζομένων τεχνιτῶν χωρὶς τῶν ὑπηρετούντων.  
 τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ μέρος εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν καθέλκειν  
 προσετέτακτο, τὴν λοιπὴν κατασκευὴν ἵν' ἐκεῖ λαμ-  
 b βάνῃ. ὥς δὲ περὶ τὸν καθελκυσμὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν εἰς τὴν |  
 θάλασσαν πολλὴ ζήτησις ἦν, Ἀρχιμήδης ὁ μηχαν-

<sup>28</sup> τὸ πλήθος A: πλήθος tantum CE



## BOOK V

lampstand made for the Persian king. But Hieron the king of Syracuse, who was always a friend of the Romans, devoted attention to building temples and wrestling-schools, but was also interested in winning a reputation for naval construction by building grain-transport ships. I will offer an account of the construction of one of these. For the materials, he had enough wood to produce the hulls of 60 "fours" collected from Mt. Aetna. He likewise prepared wooden pegs, belly-timbers, rib-timbers, and whatever other material was needed for other purposes, getting some items from Italy and others from Sicily, along with esparto for ropes from Spain, hemp and pitch from the Rhone valley, and everything else that was needed from many other places. He also recruited shipwrights and other craftsmen, and after he selected Archias of Corinth out of the whole group to be his chief builder, he ordered him to begin the project without delay; he himself devoted his days to it. Half of the whole ship<sup>120</sup> was completed in six months . . . and any section that was built was immediately sheathed with sheets of lead, as one would expect, given that 300 craftsmen were working on the materials, not counting their assistants. He had given orders to drag this section down to the sea, so that the rest of the work could be done there. After considerable discussion about how it could be dragged down to the sea, the engineer Archimedes moved it down there by himself with the assistance of

<sup>120</sup> I.e. the lower half of the hull.

νικὸς μόνος αὐτὸ κατήγαγε δι' ὀλίγων σωμάτων κατασκευάσας γὰρ ἔλικα τὸ τηλικούτον σκάφος εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν κατήγαγε. πρῶτος δ' Ἀρχιμήδης εὔρε τὴν τῆς ἔλικος κατασκευὴν. ὥς δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μέρη τῆς νεὸς ἐν ἄλλοις ἕξ μησὶ κατεσκευάσθη καὶ τοῖς χαλκοῖς ἤλοις πᾶσα περιελήφθη, ὧν οἱ πολλοὶ δεκάμνοοι ἦσαν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τούτων ἡμιόλιοι. διὰ τρυπάνων δ' ἦσαν οὗτοι ἡρμοσμένοι τοὺς σταμῖνας συνεχόντες· μολυβδίναις δὲ κεραμίσιν ἐπεστεγνοῦντο πρὸς τὸ ξύλον, ὑποτιθεμένων ὀθονίων μετὰ πίττης. ὥς οὖν τὴν ἐκτὸς ἐπιφάνειαν ἐξεργάσατο, τὴν ἐντὸς διασκευὴν ἐξεπονεῖτο. ἦν δὲ ἡ ναὺς τῇ | μὲν κατασκευῇ εἰκόσορος, τριπάροδος δέ· τὴν μὲν κατωτάτῳ † ἔχων † ἐπὶ τὸν γόμον, ἐφ' ἣν διὰ κλιμάκων πυκνῶν ἡ κατάβασις ἐγίνετο· ἡ δ' ἐτέρα τοῖς εἰς τὰς διαίτας βουλομένοις εἰσιέναι ἐμεμηχάνητο· μεθ' ἣν ἡ τελευταία τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις τεταγμένοις. ἦσαν δὲ τῆς μέσης παρόδου παρ' ἐκάτερον τῶν τοίχων δίαται τετράκλινοι τοῖς ἀνδράσι, τριάκοντα τὸ πλήθος. ἡ δὲ ναυκληρικὴ δίατα κλινῶν μὲν ἦν πεντεκαίδεκα, θαλάμους δὲ τρεῖς εἶχε τρικλίλους, ὧν ἦν τὸ κατὰ τὴν πρύμναν ὀπτανείον. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα δάπεδον εἶχεν ἐν ἀβακίσκοις συγκείμενον ἐκ παντοίων λίθων, ἐν οἷς ἦν κατεσκευασμένος | πᾶς ὁ περὶ τὴν Ἰλιάδα μῦθος θαυμασίως· ταῖς τε κατασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς ὀροφαῖς, καὶ θυρώμασι δὲ πάντα ἦν ταῦτα πεπονημένα. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνωτάτῳ πάροδον γυμνάσιον ἦν καὶ περίπατοι σύμμετρον ἔχοντες τὴν κατασκευὴν τῷ τοῦ πλοίου μεγέθει, ἐν οἷς

κῆποι παντοῖοι θαυμασίως ἦσαν ὑπερβάλλοντες ταῖς  
 φυτείαις, διὰ κεραμίδων μολυβδινῶν κατεστεγνωμέ-  
 νων <ἀρδευόμενοι>, ἔτι δὲ σκηναὶ κιττοῦ λευκοῦ καὶ  
 ἀμπέλων, ὧν αἱ ῥίζαι τὴν τροφήν ἐν πίθοις εἶχον γῆς  
 πεπληρωμένοις, τὴν αὐτὴν ἄρδουσιν λαμβάνουσαι  
 e καθάπερ | καὶ οἱ κῆποι. αὗται δὲ αἱ σκηναὶ συνεσκία-  
 ζον τοὺς περιπάτους. ἐξῆς δὲ τούτων Ἀφροδίσιον  
 κατεσκεύαστο τρίκλινον, δάπεδον ἔχον ἐκ λίθων ἀχα-  
 τῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων χαριεστάτων ὅσοι κατὰ τὴν νῆσον  
 ἦσαν· τοὺς τοίχους δ' εἶχε καὶ τὴν ὀροφὴν κυπαρίτ-  
 του, τὰς δὲ θύρας ἐλέφαντος καὶ θύον· γραφαῖς <δὲ>  
 καὶ ἀγάλμασιν, ἔτι δὲ ποτηρίων κατασκευαῖς ὑπερ-  
 βαλλόντως κατεσκεύαστο. τούτου δ' ἐφεξῆς σχολα-  
 στήριον ὑπῆρχε πεντάκλινον, ἐκ πύξου τοὺς τοίχους  
 f καὶ τὰ θυρώματα κατεσκευασμένον, βιβλιοθήκην |  
 ἔχον ἐν αὐτῷ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὀροφὴν πόλον ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ  
 τὴν Ἀχραδίνην ἀπομεμιμημένον ἡλιοτροπίου. ἦν δὲ  
 καὶ βαλανεῖον τρίκλινον πυρίας χαλκᾶς ἔχον τρεῖς  
 καὶ λουτήρα πέντε μετρητὰς δεχόμενον ποικίλον τοῦ  
 Ταυρομενίτου λίθου. κατεσκεύαστο δὲ καὶ οἰκήματα  
 πλείω τοῖς ἐπιβάταις καὶ τοῖς τὰς ἀντλίας φυλάτ-  
 τουσι. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἵππῳνες ἦσαν ἑκατέρου τῶν  
 τοίχων δέκα· κατὰ δὲ τούτους ἡ τροφή τοῖς ἵπποις  
 208 ἔκειτο καὶ τῶν ἀναβατῶν καὶ τῶν παίδων τὰ σκεύη. ||  
 ἦν δὲ καὶ ὑδροθήκη κατὰ τὴν πρῶραν κλειστή, δισχι-  
 λίους μετρητὰς δεχομένη, ἐκ σανίδων καὶ πίττης καὶ  
 ὀθονίων κατεσκευασμένη. παρὰ δὲ ταύτην κατεσκεύ-  
 αστο διὰ μολιβδώματος καὶ σανίδων κλειστὸν ἰχθυο-

κύκλω τῆς νεὸς σιδηροῦς πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας ἀναβαίνειν κόρακές τε σιδηροῖ<sup>30</sup>, οἱ δὲ ὀργάνων ἀφιέμενοι τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐκράτουν σκάφη καὶ παρέβαλλον εἰς πληγὴν. ἑκατέρω δὲ τῶν τοίχων ἐξήκοντα νεανίσκοι πανοπλίας ἔχοντες ἐφειστήκεσαν καὶ τούτοις ἴσοι περί τε τοὺς ἰστοὺς καὶ τὰς λιθοφόρους  
e κεραίας. | ἦσαν δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἰστοὺς ἐν τοῖς καρχησίοις οὗσι χαλκοῖς ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ πρώτου τρεῖς ἄνδρες, εἴθ' ἐξῆς καθ' ἓνα λειπόμενοι· τούτοις δ' ἐν πλεκτοῖς γυργάθοις διὰ τροχιλίων εἰς τὰ θωράκια λίθοι παρεβάλλοντο καὶ βέλη διὰ τῶν παίδων. ἄγκυραι δὲ ἦσαν ξύλιναι μὲν τέτταρες, σιδηραὶ δ' ὀκτώ. τῶν δὲ ἰστών ὁ μὲν δεύτερος καὶ τρίτος εὐρέθησαν, δυσχερῶς δὲ ὁ πρῶτος εὐρέθη ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τῆς  
f Βρεττίας ὑπὸ συβώτου ἀνδρός· κατήγαγε δ' | αὐτὸν ἐπὶ θάλατταν Φιλέας ὁ Ταυρομενίτης μηχανικός. ἡ δὲ ἀντλία καίπερ βάθος ὑπερβάλλον ἔχουσα δι' ἐνὸς ἀνδρός ἐξηντλείτο διὰ κοχλίου, Ἀρχιμήδους ἐξευρόντος. ὄνομα δ' ἦν τῇ νηὶ Συρακοσία· ὅτε δ' αὐτὴν ἐξέπεμπεν Ἰέρων, Ἀλεξανδρίδα αὐτὴν μετωνόμασεν. ἐφόλκια δ' ἦσαν αὐτῇ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κέρκουρος τρισχίλια τάλαντα δέχεσθαι δυνάμενος· πᾶς δ' ἦν οὗτος ἐπίκωπος. μεθ' ὃν χίλια πεντακόσια βαστάζουσαι ἀλιάδες τε καὶ σκάφαι πλείους. ὄχλος δ' ἦν οὐκ ἐλάττων < . . . > μετὰ τοὺς προειρημένους ἄλλοι τε ἑξακόσιοι παρὰ τὴν πρῶραν ἐπιτηροῦντες τὰ παραγ-

<sup>30</sup> σιδηροῖ κύκλω τῆς νεὸς ACE

## BOOK V

that surrounded the ship and guarded against anyone who tried to board it, as well as iron hooks<sup>127</sup> which, when fired into the enemy's ships by catapults, got control of them and hauled them alongside, where they could be assaulted. 60 young men in full armor were stationed along each side of the ship, and an equal number were stationed around the masts and the booms used to transport stones. Men were also stationed at the masts in the mast-tops, which were made of bronze; three were assigned to the main mast, and two and one to the others, respectively. Slaves supplied them with stones and missiles, which were moved up to the crow's-nests in wicker baskets by means of blocks-and-tackle. There were four wooden anchors and eight made of iron. The second and third masts were found easily, but the main mast was located only with great difficulty, in the mountains of Bruttium by a swineherd. The engineer Phileas of Tauromenium transported it down to the sea. Although the bilge was very deep, it was emptied by one man using a screw-pump, which Archimedes invented. The ship's name was the Syracosia; but when Hieron sent it off,<sup>128</sup> he changed its name to the Alexandris. As for the vessels that accompanied it, there was, first of all, a cargo-galley with a capacity of 3000 talents, fully equipped with oars. After this, there were smaller craft capable of carrying 1500 talents, and many other boats. The total number of men was at least . . . in addition to those mentioned above, another 600 were posted at the prow awaiting or-

<sup>127</sup> Literally "ravens," presumably called after their color and general shape.

<sup>128</sup> As a gift to the king of Egypt (hence the new name); see 5.209b, below.

- 209 γελλόμενα. || τῶν δὲ κατὰ ναῦν ἀδικημάτων δικαστήριον καθειστήκει ναύκληρος, κυβερνήτης, καὶ πρῶ-  
 ρεύς, οἵπερ ἐδίκαζον κατὰ τοὺς Συρακοσίων νόμους.  
 σίτου δὲ ἐνεβάλλοντο εἰς τὴν ναῦν μυριάδας ἕξ, ταρ-  
 ίχων δὲ Σικελικῶν κεράμια μύρια, ἐρίων τάλαντα  
 δισμύρια, καὶ ἕτερα δὲ φορτία δισμύρια· χωρὶς δὲ  
 τούτων ὁ ἐπισιτισμὸς ἦν τῶν ἐμπλεόντων. ὁ δ' Ἰέρων  
 ἐπεὶ πάντας τοὺς λιμένας ἤκουεν τοὺς μὲν ὥς οὐ  
 b δύνατοί εἰσι τὴν ναῦν δέχεσθαι, | τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐπι-  
 κινδύνους ὑπάρχειν, διέγνω δῶρον αὐτὴν ἀποστεῖλαι  
 Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν· καὶ γὰρ ἦν  
 σπάνις σίτου κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον. καὶ οὕτως ἐποίησε,  
 καὶ ἡ ναὺς κατήχθη εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἔνθα καὶ  
 ἐνεωλκήθη. ὁ δ' Ἰέρων καὶ Ἀρχίμηλον τὸν τῶν ἐπι-  
 γραμμάτων ποιητὴν γράψαντα εἰς τὴν ναῦν ἐπίγραμ-  
 μα χιλίοις πυρῶν μεδίμνοις, οὓς καὶ παρέπεμψεν ἰδί-  
 οῖς δαπανήμασιν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, ἐτίμησεν. ἔχει δ'  
 c οὕτως τὸ ἐπίγραμμα· |

τίς τόδε σέλμα πέλωρον ἐπὶ χθονὸς εἷσατο;

ποῖος

κοίρανος ἀκαμάτοις πείσμασιν ἡγάγετο;

πῶς δὲ κατὰ δρυόχων ἐπάγη σανίς, ἥ τίνι

γόμφοι

τμηθέντες πελέκει τοῦτ' ἔκαμον τὸ κύτος,

ἥ κορυφαῖς Αἴτνας παρισούμενον ἥ τινι νάσων

ἄς Αἰγαῖον ὕδωρ Κυκλάδας ἐνδέδεται,



## BOOK V

ders. The captain, the pilot, and the bow-officer served as a court for any crimes committed onboard, and made their decisions based on Syracusan law. 60000 measures of grain were loaded into the ship, along with 10000 jars of Sicilian saltfish, 20000 talents of wool, and 20000 talents of other merchandise; apart from all this, there were the provisions for everyone onboard. When Hieron began to get reports about all the harbors, saying that some were unable to accommodate his ship, while others were too dangerous, he decided to send it to Alexandria as a gift for King Ptolemy<sup>129</sup>, because there was a shortage of grain in Egypt. He did so, and the ship put in to Alexandria and was hauled to the docks there. Hieron also honored the epigrammatic poet Archimelus, who wrote an epigram about the ship, with 1000 *medimnoi* of wheat, which Archimelus sent to the Piraeus at his own expense. The epigram (*SH* 202) runs as follows:

Who set these monstrous timbers on the earth? What  
sort  
of lord brought them here with untiring cables?  
And how was the planking fixed in place on the  
trestles? Or with what  
ax were the pegs cut that made this hull,  
as large as Aetna's peaks or one of the islands  
the Aegean water binds together as the Cyclades,

<sup>129</sup> Most likely Ptolemy III Euergetes (reigned 246–221 BCE).



- d τοίχοις ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἰσοπλατές; ἦ ῥα Γίγαντες |  
 τοῦτο πρὸς οὐρανίας ἔξεσαν ἀτραπιτούς·  
 ἄστρον γὰρ ψαύει καρχήσια καὶ τριελίκτους  
 θώρακας μεγάλων ἐντὸς ἔχει νεφέων.  
 πείσμασι δ' ἀγκύρας ἀπερείδεται οἷσιν Ἀβύδου  
 Ξέρξης καὶ Σηστοῦ δισσοῦν ἔδησε πόρον.  
 μανύει στιβαρᾶς κατ' ἐπωμίδος ἀρτιχάρακτον  
 γράμμα, τίς ἐκ χέρσου τάνδ' ἐκύλισε τρόπιν·  
 e φατὶ γὰρ ὡς Ἱέρων Ἱεροκλέος Ἑλλάδι πάσα |  
 καὶ νάσοις καρπὸν πίονα δωροφορῶν,  
 Σικελίας σκαπτοῦχος ὁ Δωρικός. ἀλλά,  
 Πόσειδον,  
 σῶζε διὰ γλαυκῶν σέλμα τόδε ῥοθίων.

παρέλιπον δ' ἐκὼν ἐγὼ τὴν Ἀντιγόνου ἱερὰν τριήρη, ἣ  
 ἐνίκησε τοὺς Πτολεμαίου στρατηγούς περὶ Λεύκολλαν  
 τῆς Κώας, ὅπου δὴ καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι αὐτὴν ἀνέθηκεν·  
 ἥτις οὐδὲ τὸ τρίτον, τάχα δὲ οὐδὲ τὸ τέταρτον εἶχε τῆς  
 Συρακοσίας ἢ Ἀλεξανδρίδος ταύτης νεώς.

- f Τοσαῦτ' οὖν καὶ περὶ τοῦ τῶν νεῶν καταλόγου | οὐκ  
 ἀπὸ Βοιωτῶν ἀρξάμενοι κατελέξαμεν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πανη-  
 γυρικῶν πομπῶν. καὶ ἐπεὶ τὸν καλὸν Οὐλπιανὸν οἶδα

<sup>130</sup> In 480 BCE, when the Persians invaded Greece via a bridge constructed over the Dardanelles.

<sup>131</sup> Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedon c.277/6–239. The Ptolemy referred to below is Ptolemy II Philadelphus, and the battle may have taken place in 254 BCE.

<sup>132</sup> An allusion to the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.484–779), which begins with a description of the Boeotian contingent.

πάλιν προβαλοῦντα ἡμῖν, τίς αὐτῇ ἢ παρὰ τῷ Καλλι-  
 ξείνῳ ἐγγυθήκη, φαμέν αὐτῷ ὅτι καὶ λόγος τις εἰς  
 Λυσίαν ἀναφέρεται τὸν ῥήτορα Περὶ Ἐγγυθήκης ἐπι-  
 γραφόμενος, οὗ ἢ ἀρχή· εἰ μὲν δίκαιον ἔλεγεν ἢ  
 μέτριον, ἄνδρες δικασταί, Λυσιμένης. ἐν ᾧ προελθὼν  
 φησιν· οὐκ ἂν ἐσπούδαζον περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐγγυθήκης  
 δικαιολογεῖσθαι, ἢ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀξία τριάκοντα δρα-  
 210 χμῶν. || ὅτι δὲ χαλκῇ ἦν ἢ ἐγγυθήκη ἐξῆς φησι·  
 πέρυσιν δὲ ἐπισκευάσαι αὐτὴν βουλόμενος ἐξέδωκα  
 εἰς τὸ χαλκεῖον· ἐστὶ γὰρ συνθετὴ καὶ σατύρων ἔχει  
 πρόσωπα καὶ βουκεφάλια < . . . > ἄλλο ἔτι μέγεθος τὸ  
 αὐτό. ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς τεχνίτης πολλὰ σκεύη ταῦτα καὶ  
 ὅμοια ἐργάζεται. ἐν τούτοις ὁ Λυσίας εἰπὼν ὅτι καὶ  
 χαλκῇ ἦν ἢ ἐγγυθήκη, σαφῶς παρίστησιν, ὥς καὶ ὁ  
 Καλλίξεινος εἶρηκε, λεβήτων αὐτὰς ὑποθήματα εἶναι.  
 οὕτως γὰρ καὶ Πολέμων ὁ περιηγητὴς εἶπεν ἐν τρίτῳ  
 τῶν Πρὸς Ἀδαῖον καὶ Ἀντίγονον ἐξηγούμενος διάθε-  
 b σιν ἐν Φλιούντι | κατὰ τὴν πολεμάρχειον στοὰν γε-  
 γραμμένην ὑπὸ Σίλλακος τοῦ Ῥηγίνου, οὗ μνημο-  
 νεύουσιν Ἐπίχαρμος καὶ Σιμωνίδης, λέγων οὕτως·  
 ἐγγυθήκη καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς κύπελλον. Ἠγήσανδρος δὲ ὁ  
 Δελφὸς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ὑπομνήματι Ἀνδριάν-  
 των καὶ Ἀγαλμάτων Γλαύκου φησὶ τοῦ Χίου τὸ ἐν  
 Δελφοῖς ὑπόστημα οἶον ἐγγυθήκην τινὰ σιδηρᾶν,  
 ἀνάθημα Ἀλυάττου· οὗ ὁ Ἡρόδοτος μνημονεύει ὑπο-

133 At 5.199c.  
 Atticism at Luc. Lex. 2.

134 The word appears to be treated as an

c κρητηρίδιον αὐτὸ καλῶν. καὶ ὁ <μὲν> Ἡγήσανδρος  
ταῦτα λέγει· εἶδομεν δ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀνακείμενον | ἐν  
Δελφοῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς θεᾶς ἄξιον διὰ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐντετο-  
ρευμένα ζωδάρια καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ζώφια καὶ φυτάρια,  
ἐπιτίθεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτῷ δυνάμενα καὶ κρατῆρας καὶ  
ἄλλα σκεύη. ἡ δ' ὑπ' Ἀλεξανδρέων καλουμένη ἀγγο-  
θήκη τρίγωνός ἐστι, κατὰ μέσον κοίλη, δέχεσθαι  
δυναμένη ἐντιθέμενον κεράμιον. ἔχουσι δὲ ταύτην οἱ  
μὲν πένητες ξυλίνην, οἱ δὲ πλούσιοι χαλκῇν ἢ ἀρ-  
γυρᾶν.

Εἰπόντες οὖν περὶ ἐγγυθῆκης ἐξῆς πάλιν μνησθη-  
σόμεθα φιλοδείπνων βασιλέων. ὁ γὰρ τῷ προειρη-  
d μένω | Ἀντιόχῳ ὁμώνυμος βασιλεὺς, Δημητρίου δ'  
υἱός, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ποσειδώνιος, ὑποδοχὰς ποιούμενος  
καθ' ἡμέραν ὀχλικὰς χωρὶς τῶν ἀναλισκομένων σω-  
ρευμάτων ἐκάστῳ ἀποφέρειν ἐδίδου τῶν ἐστιατόρων  
ὀλομελῇ κρέα χερσαίων τε καὶ πτηνῶν καὶ θαλαττίων  
ζώων ἀδιαίρετα ἐσκευασμένα, ἅμαξαν πληρῶσαι δυ-  
νάμενα· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μελιπήκτων καὶ στεφάνων ἐκ  
σμύρνης καὶ λιβανωτοῦ σὺν ἀνδρομήκεσι λημνίσκων  
χρυσῶν πιλήμασι πλήθη. καὶ ἄλλος δ' Ἀντίοχος  
βασιλεὺς ἐπιτελῶν τοὺς ἐν Δάφνῃ ἀγῶνας ἐποιήσατο  
e καὶ αὐτὸς ὑποδοχὰς | λαμπράς, ὡς <ὁ> αὐτός φησι  
Ποσειδώνιος· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἀναδόσεις ἐποιήσα-

<sup>137</sup> The same passage of Posidonius is cited at 12.540b–c.

<sup>138</sup> At 5.193d–5f.

<sup>139</sup> Antiochus VII Sidetes reigned 139–129 BCE, the son of Demetrius I.

## BOOK V

as a *hupokrētēridion* (“mixing-bowl support-stand”). This is what Hegesander has to say. But I myself saw it set up as a dedication in Delphi, and it is well worth seeing because of the tiny figures worked in relief on it along with other small creatures and plants; mixing-bowls and other vessels can be placed on top of it. What the inhabitants of Alexandria refer to as an *angothēkē* (“vessel-stand”) is triangular and has a hollow center, and can support an earthenware pot set on top of it. Poor people have one made of wood, whereas the rich have one of bronze or silver.

Now that I have discussed the *enguthēkē*, I will next make some further mention of kings who were fond of dinner parties. According to Posidonius (*FGrH* 87 F 9b = fr. 61b Edelstein–Kidd),<sup>137</sup> the king who shared a name with the Antiochus mentioned above<sup>138</sup> but was a son of Demetrius<sup>139</sup> gave receptions for large numbers of people every day. In addition to the heaps of food consumed, he allowed everyone at the feast to take away whole uncarved cuts of meat from land-animals, birds, and sea-creatures, enough to fill a cart, and after that large amounts of honey cakes, garlands made of myrrh, and frankincense with ribbons of pressed gold as long as a man is tall. A different King Antiochus<sup>140</sup> also held brilliant receptions when he was celebrating the games at Daphne, according to the same Posidonius (*FGrH* 87 F 21b = fr. 72b Edelstein–Kidd): He began by distributing whole cuts of meat to each

<sup>140</sup> Antiochus VIII Grypus (reigned 125/1–96 BCE). For Daphne (mentioned below), see 5.194c n. The same passage of Posidonius is quoted at 12.540a–b, which is the source of the supplement.

- d λαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀντίοχος, οὐκ ἐνέγκας | αὐτοῦ  
τὴν κακολογίαν, ἀποσφαγῆναι ἐκέλευσεν. ὁ δ' Ἀλέ-  
ξανδρος προσηνὴς ἦν πᾶσι καὶ φιλόλογος ἐν ταῖς  
ὁμιλίαις καὶ οὐχ ὅμοιος Ἀθηνίῳ τῷ περιπατητικῷ  
φιλοσόφῳ, τῷ καὶ διατριβῆς προστάντι φιλοσόφῳ  
Ἀθήνησί τε καὶ ἐν Μεσσήνῃ, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐν Λαρίσῃ τῆς  
Θετταλίας, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως  
τυραννήσαντι. περὶ οὗ καθ' ἕκαστα ἱστορεῖ Ποσει-  
δώνιος ὁ Ἀπαμεύς, ἅπερ εἰ καὶ μακρότερα ἐστὶν ἐκθή-  
σομαι, ἵν' ἐπιμελῶς πάντας ἐξετάζωμεν τοὺς φάσκον-  
e τας εἶναι φιλοσόφους καὶ μὴ τοῖς τριβωνίοις | καὶ  
τοῖς ἀκάρτοις πώγῳσι πιστεύωμεν. κατὰ γὰρ τὸν  
Ἀγάθωνα

εἰ μὲν φράσω τὰληθές, οὐχί σ' εὐφρανῶ·  
εἰ δ' εὐφρανῶ τί σ', οὐχὶ τὰληθὲς φράσω.

ἀλλὰ φίλη <γάρ>, φασίν, ἡ ἀλήθεια, ἐκθήσομαι τὰ  
περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ὡς ἐγένετο.

- Ἐν τῇ Ἑρμυνέως τοῦ περιπατητικοῦ σχολῇ διέτρι-  
βέ τις Ἀθηνίων προσκαρτερῶν τοῖς λόγοις· ὅστις  
Αἰγυπτίαν ὠνησάμενος θεραπείαν ἐπεπλέκετο αὐτῇ.  
ταύτης οὖν εἴτ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ τεκούσης, εἴτ' ἐξ ἄλλου τινός,  
f ὁμώνυμος Ἀθηνίῳ | τῷ δεσπότη παρετρέφετο. γράμ-  
ματα δὲ μαθὼν καὶ πρεσβύτην γενόμενον τὸν δεσπό-  
την μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἐχειραγώγει καὶ ἀποθανόντα

## BOOK V

ter Antiochus<sup>147</sup> inherited the kingdom, he was unable to tolerate Diogenes' abuse and ordered him executed. But Alexander was gentle to everyone and enjoyed discussing literature, and was unlike the Peripatetic philosopher Athenion,<sup>148</sup> who was the head of philosophical schools in Athens and Messene, as well as in Larisa in Thessaly, and afterward became a tyrant who controlled the city of Athens. Posidonius of Apamea (*FGrH* 87 F 36 = fr. 253 Edelstein–Kidd) offers a detailed account of him, which I am going to provide even if it is quite long, in order that we can make a careful examination of all those who claim to be philosophers and not simply put our confidence in their rough robes and untrimmed beards. As Agathon (*TrGF* 39 F 12) says:

If I speak the truth, I won't make you happy;  
but if I make you at all happy, I won't speak the truth.

But because the truth, as they say, is something we ought to care about, I will offer you an account of how this man's tale unfolded.

A certain Athenion spent time in the school of the Peripatetic Erymneus and applied himself to his doctrines. He bought an Egyptian slave-girl and had sex with her; the woman's son, whether Athenion was the father or someone else was, shared his master Athenion's name and was brought up in his house. He learned to read and write, and after his master had grown old, he and his mother would lead him around by the hand; after the old man died, he in-

<sup>147</sup> Presumably a reference to Antiochus VII Sidetes (reigned 139–129 BCE), although this is too late for Diogenes of Babylon.

<sup>148</sup> PAA 110370.



κληρονομήσας παρέγγραφος Ἀθηναίων πολίτης ἐγένετο. γήμας τε παιδισκάριον εὖμορφον μετὰ τούτου πρὸς τὸ σοφιστεύειν ὥρμησε μειράκια σχολαστικὰ  
 212 θηρεύων. καὶ σοφιστεύσας ἢ ἐν Μεσσήνῃ καὶ Λαρίσῃ τῇ Θετταλικῇ καὶ πολλὰ ἐργασάμενος χρήματα ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. καὶ χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρεσβευτής, ὅτε εἰς Μιθριδάτην τὰ πράγματα μετέρρει, ὑποδραμὼν τὸν βασιλέα τῶν φίλων εἰς ἐγένετο, μεγίστης τυχὼν προαγωγῆς. διόπερ μετεώριζε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους δι' ἐπιστολῶν ὡς τὰ μέγιστα παρὰ τῷ Καππαδόκῃ δυνάμενος, ὥστε μὴ μόνον τῶν ἐπιφερομένων ὀφλημάτων ἀπολυθέντας <ἂν> ἐν ὁμο-  
 b νοίᾳ ζῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἢ ἀνακτησαμένους, καὶ δωρεῶν μεγάλων τυχεῖν ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ. ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διεκόμπουν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν καταλελύσθαι πεπιστευκότες. ἤδη οὖν τῆς Ἀσίας μεταβεβλημένης ὁ Ἀθηνίων ἐπανῆγεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐνοχληθεὶς εἰς τὴν Καρυστίαν κατηνέχθη. τοῦτο μαθόντες οἱ Κεκροπίδαι ἔπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνακομιδὴν αὐτοῦ ναῦς μακρὰς καὶ φορεῖον ἀργυρόπουν. ἀλλ' εἰσῆειν ἤδη, καὶ σχεδὸν τὸ πλείστον  
 c μέρος τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκδοχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐξεκέχυτο. ἢ συνέτρεχον δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι θεαταὶ τὸ παράδοξον τῆς τύχης θαυμάζοντες, εἰ ὁ παρέγγραφος Ἀθηνίων εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐπ' ἀργυρόποδος κατακομίζεται φορεῖου καὶ πορφυρῶν στρωμάτων, ὁ μηδέποτε ἐπὶ τοῦ τρίβωνος ἑωρακὼς πορφύραν πρότερον, οὐδενὸς οὐδὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τοιαύτῃ φαντασίᾳ καταχλιδῶντος τῆς



## BOOK V

herited the property and was illegally enrolled as an Athenian citizen. He married a pretty girl and with her help began to hunt for boys to teach, so that he could become a sophist. After he had worked as a sophist in Messene and Thessalian Larisa and had made a lot of money, he returned to Athens. The Athenians elected him an ambassador when their allegiance was shifting to Mithridates<sup>149</sup>, and by flattering the king he became part of his inner circle and attained tremendous eminence. He accordingly began to write to the Athenians and encourage them to believe that he had enormous influence with the Cappadocian<sup>150</sup> and that they could not only escape the debts that were pressing them and live in harmony, but also recover their democracy and get huge gifts privately and as a people. The Athenians started bragging about this, since they had been convinced that Rome's power had collapsed. After Asia had switched sides, Athenion began his return to Athens; but a storm caused him trouble and he landed at Carystia. When the Cecropids<sup>151</sup> learned of this, they sent warships and a litter with silver feet to bring him home. And now he was coming in, and almost the entire city had poured out to greet him! Many other spectators ran to join them, astonished at how strange fortune can be, if the illegally enrolled Athenion is being brought home on a litter with silver feet and purple bed-clothes, a man who had never seen purple on his rough robe before this, and even though no Roman ever insulted Attica with such a

<sup>149</sup> Mithridates VI Eupator Dionysus, king of Pontus. Athenion was elected ambassador in 88 BCE and became tyrant of Athens in 87.

<sup>150</sup> Mithridates.

<sup>151</sup> The Athenians.

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display of luxury. So they all came running together to see this sight, men, women, and children, expecting the best from Mithridates, if the result of the king's favor was that the pauper Athenion, who used to give subscription lectures<sup>152</sup>, was being paraded through the countryside and the city like an arrogant buffoon. Dionysus' artists met him and invited the messenger of the new Dionysus to the public hearth and the prayers and libations that took place around it. The man who previously emerged from a rented house was transported to the residence of Dies<sup>153</sup> (a contemporary whose wealth came from money made on Delos), which was fitted out with bedding, paintings, statues, and a display of silver vessels. He left there with a brilliant robe trailing behind him and wearing a gold ring engraved with Mithridates' portrait. A large number of slaves marched in front of him and followed behind. Sacrifices in honor of Athenion's presence were carried out in the sacred precinct of the artists, and after a herald made a proclamation, libations were poured. The next day many people came to the house and waited until he came out. The Cerameicus was full of citizens and foreigners, and the crowd rushed into the Assembly-place without being summoned. He made his way forward with difficulty, escorted by a bodyguard of men who wanted to gain favor with the people; everyone was eager simply to touch his clothing. After he got up, then, onto the speaker's stand that had been built in front of the Stoa of Attalus for the Roman magistrates, he stood on top of it, looked around in a circle at the crowd, raised his eyes, and said: "Men of

<sup>152</sup> Lectures at which everyone who attended made a contribution to cover the speaker's fee.

<sup>153</sup> PAA 324020.

## BOOK V

Athens, the circumstances and the interest of my country require me to report what I know; but the magnitude of what I am going to say restrains me, because the situation is so extraordinary." When the bystanders all shouted that he should get his courage up and speak, he said: "Well then, what I have to tell you was never expected or even seen in a dream. King Mithridates is in control of Bithynia and Upper Cappadocia, as well as all Asia as far as Pamphylia and Cilicia. Armenian and Persian kings serve in his bodyguard, as do princes of the peoples who live around Lake Maeotis and all of Pontus in an area 30000 stades in circumference. The Roman magistrate in charge of Pamphylia, Quintus Oppius, was turned over to him and follows him in shackles, while the ex-consul Munius Aquilius, who celebrated a triumph after his campaign in Sicily, is dragged along on foot by a horseman, bound together by a long chain with a Bastarnian five cubits tall. As for the rest of the Romans, some of them are clinging to the gods' statues, while the rest have shed their square robes<sup>154</sup> and are once again identifying themselves by their country of origin. Every city meets the king with more than human honors, referring to him as a god; and oracles from everywhere prophesy his control of the entire inhabited world. He is therefore sending large armies to Thrace and Macedon, and every part of Europe without exception has come over to his side. For ambassadors are with him not just from the Italian peoples but also from the Carthaginians, begging to

<sup>154</sup> Their togas.

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be his allies when he moves to destroy Rome.” He paused for a moment at this point, and after allowing the crowd to discuss the unexpected news, rubbed his forehead and said: “So what do I advise? That you not put up with the anarchy<sup>155</sup> the Roman Senate has caused to continue until it decides how we ought to be governed! And let us not ignore the fact that our temples are locked, our gymnasia filthy, our theater deserted by the Assembly, our lawcourts mute, and the Pnyx, although consecrated by divine oracles, taken away from the people! Nor let us ignore the fact, men of Athens, that Iacchus’ holy voice has been silenced, the sacred shrine of the two goddesses has been locked, and the philosophical schools are mute!” After this domestic slave<sup>156</sup> said many similar things, the crowd discussed the matter among themselves and raced off to the Theater, where they elected Athenion as a general in charge of the hoplites. The Peripatetic stepped forward into the orchestra, carrying himself like Pythocles (cf. D. 19.314), thanked the Athenians, and said: “Now you are generals over yourselves, and I am your representative. If you lend me your strength, I will be as powerful as all of you combined.” After saying this, he appointed the other magistrates who would serve along with him, proposing the names of those he wanted. A few days later the philosopher revealed himself to be a tyrant, and showed them what the Pythagorean doctrine of treachery was and what the consequences were for them of the philosophy introduced by the noble Pythagoras, as is recorded by Theo-

<sup>155</sup> I.e. the lack of annual archons.

<sup>156</sup> The word refers specifically to a slave born and raised in the house rather than bought.

- 214 *ιστόρησε Θεόπομπος ἐν ὀγδόῃ Φιλιππικῶν καὶ Ἑρ-  
 μιππος ὁ Καλλιμάχειος, εὐθέως καὶ οὗτος τοὺς μὲν εὖ  
 φρονούντας τῶν πολιτῶν—παρὰ τὰ Ἀριστοτέλους ἢ  
 καὶ Θεοφράστου δόγματα· ὡς ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὴν παροι-  
 μίαν τὴν λέγουσαν “μὴ παιδὶ μάχαιραν”—ἐκποδὼν  
 εὐθὺς ἐποιήσατο, φύλακας δ’ ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας κατέστη-  
 σεν, ὡς νύκτωρ πολλοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων εὐλαβουμέ-  
 νους τὸ μέλλον κατὰ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτοὺς καθιμήσαν-  
 τας φεύγειν. καὶ ὁ Ἀθηνίων ἱππέας ἐπαποστείλας οὓς  
 μὲν ἐφόνευσεν, οὓς δὲ καὶ δεδεμένους κατήγαγε, δορυ-  
 φόρους ἔχων πολλοὺς τῶν καταφρακτικῶν καλουμέ-  
 νων. συνάγων δὲ καὶ ἐκκλησίας πολλάκις τὰ Ῥωμαί-  
 ων φρονεῖν | προσεποιεῖτο < . . . > καὶ πολλοῖς αἰτίας  
 ἐπιφέρων ὡς διαπεμπομένοις πρὸς τοὺς φυγάδας καὶ  
 νεωτερίζουσιν ἐφόνευεν αὐτούς· καὶ τὰς πύλας < . . . >  
 τριάκοντα καταστήσας ἐφ’ ἐκάστης οὔτ’ εἰσιέναι τὸν  
 βουλόμενον οὔτ’ ἐξιέναι εἶα. ἀνελάμβανεν δὲ καὶ τὰς  
 οὐσίας πολλῶν καὶ τοσαῦτα χρήματα συνήθροισεν  
 ὡς καὶ φρέατα πληρῶσαι πλείονα. ἐξαπέστειλεν δὲ  
 καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ὥσπερ ὁδοιδόκους τῶν ἀποχωρούν-  
 των, οἵτινες αὐτοὺς ἀνῆγον ὡς αὐτόν· καὶ ἀκρίτους  
 c ἀπώλλυνεν προβασανίσας | καὶ στρεβλώσας. πολλοῖς  
 δὲ καὶ προδοσίας δίκας ἐπῆγεν ὡς τοῖς φυγάσι περὶ  
 καθόδου συνεργοῦσιν· ὧν οἱ μὲν διὰ τὸν φόβον πρὸ  
 τῆς κρίσεως ἔφευγον, οἱ δ’ ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις κατ-  
 εδικάζοντο, αὐτοῦ τὰς ψήφους φέροντος. ἐνειργάσατο*



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pompus in Book VIII of the *History of Philip* (FGrH 115 F 73) and by Callimachus' student Hermippus (fr. 21 Wehrli). For immediately—and contrary to the teachings of Aristotle and Theophrastus<sup>157</sup>; how true the proverb (Dio-gen. 6.46) is that says "Don't (give) a child a knife!"—the fellow immediately got all the citizens with any sense out of the way and posted guards on the gates, since many Athenians, fearing what was going to happen, were lowering themselves from the walls with ropes and trying to escape. Athenion had cavalry sent after them and killed some and brought others back as prisoners; he also had a large bodyguard made up of what are referred to as *kataphraktikoi* ("men in mail"). He frequently convened Assemblies and pretended that . . . were in sympathy with Rome; and he charged many people with communicating with the exiles and planning a revolution, and put them to death. And he . . . for the gates . . . , he stationed 30 men at each and did not allow people to go in and out as they pleased. He also began to confiscate many people's property and accumulated so much money that it filled a large number of cisterns. He sent people out into the countryside who behaved like bandits to anyone trying to leave the land and brought them back to him; and he put them to death without a trial, after torturing them first and breaking them on the rack. He also brought charges of treason against many people, claiming that they were working with the exiles to try to bring them back. Some of these people were so terrified that they attempted to flee before the verdict was given, while others were found guilty in the law-

<sup>157</sup> The first two heads of the Peripatetic school.

<sup>158</sup> PAA 140490.

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courts, since Athenion himself cast the ballots. In addition, he created a shortage of the necessities of life in the city by measuring out a little barley and small amounts of wheat. And he sent hoplites into the countryside to hunt down anyone who returned to the country and was now inside its borders, as well as any Athenians who were attempting to get away across the border. He executed anyone who was captured on the plank, but tortured some of them to death beforehand. He also issued a proclamation that everyone was to stay inside after the sun went down and that no one was to go around accompanied by a slave carrying a lamp. Nor was it just the property of the citizens he seized but now that of foreigners as well, and he stretched out his hands to get hold of the god's money on Delos. He accordingly sent Apellicon of Teos<sup>158</sup> to the island. Apellicon was an Athenian citizen who had led a colorful and diverse life: he occasionally interested himself in Peripatetic philosophy; had purchased Aristotle's library<sup>159</sup> and a number of others (he was very rich); and had surreptitiously acquired the original copies of the ancient decrees from the Metroon<sup>160</sup>, as well as any other old, rare documents he could get from other cities. He was caught red-handed at this in Athens and would have been in danger, had he not gone into exile. But he returned shortly thereafter, by playing up to a large number of people, and enlisted with Athenion, since he was a member of the same sect. Athenion had forgotten his Peripatetic doctrines and was measuring out a *choinix* of barley every four days to the foolish Athenians, giving them enough food for chickens but not for human

<sup>160</sup> Athens' official archives.

<sup>161</sup> A normal ration would be one *choinix* per day.



- δυνάμεως ἐξορμήσας εἰς Δῆλον καὶ πανηγυρικῶς  
 μᾶλλον ἢ στρατιωτικῶς ἀναστρεφόμενος, καὶ προφυ-  
 λακὴν ἀμελεστέραν πρὸς τὴν Δῆλον μερίσας, μάλι-  
 στα δὲ τὰ ἐξόπισθε τῆς νήσου ἐάσας ἀφύλακτα καὶ  
 οὐδὲ χάρακα βαλλόμενος ἐκοιμάτο. τοῦτο δὲ ἐπιγνοὺς ὁ  
 215 Ὀρόβιος στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων ἢ φυλάξας<sup>32</sup> ἀσέληνον  
 νύκτα καὶ ἐκβιβάσας τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας, κοιμω-  
 μένοις καὶ μεθύουσιν ἐπιπεσὼν κατέκοψε τοὺς Ἀθη-  
 ναίους καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν συστρατενομένους ὡς  
 βοσκήματα, ἑξακοσίους τὸν ἀριθμόν, ἐζώγρησε δὲ  
 καὶ περὶ τετρακοσίους. καὶ ὁ καλὸς στρατηγὸς Ἀπελ-  
 λικῶν ἔλαθε φυγὼν ἐκ Δήλου. πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ συμφυ-  
 γόντας κατιδὼν ὁ Ὀρόβιος εἰς ἐπαύλεις συγκατέφλε-  
 ξεν αὐταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ πάντα αὐτῶν τὰ πολιορκητικὰ  
 b ὄργανα σὺν τῇ ἐλεπόλει, ἣ ἦν εἰς Δῆλον ἐλθὼν κατ-  
 εσκευάκει. στήσας οὖν τρόπαιον ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων ὁ  
 Ὀρόβιος καὶ βωμὸν ἐπέγραψε·

τούσδε θανόντας ἔχει ξυνὸς τάφος, οἱ περὶ  
 Δῆλον

μαρνάμενοι ψυχὰς ὤλεσαν ἐν πελάγει,  
 τὴν ἱερὰν ὅτε νήσον Ἀθηναῖοι κερααῖζον  
 κοινὸν Ἄρη βασιλεῖ Καππαδόκων θέμενοι.

Καὶ Ταρσοῦ δὲ Ἐπικούρειος φιλόσοφος ἐτυράν-  
 νησε, Λυσίας ὄνομα· ὃς ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος στεφανηφό-  
 ρος αἰρεθεὶς, τουτέστιν ἱερεὺς Ἡρακλέους, οὐκ ἀπ-

<sup>32</sup> Ῥωμαίων καὶ φυλάσσω τὴν Δῆλον φυλάξας A

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to say a priest of Heracles, he did not surrender the office, but stopped wearing an ordinary robe and became a tyrant: he put on a purple and off-white tunic, threw an expensive horseman's mantle about his shoulders, put white Spartan shoes<sup>165</sup> on his feet and a gold garland made to resemble laurel on his head, and distributed the property of the rich to the poor, murdering many people who refused to surrender what they had.

This is what the political leaders who began by studying philosophy are like.<sup>166</sup> Demochares used to say about them:<sup>167</sup> A spearhead could not be made out of savory, and neither could an irreproachable soldier be made from Socrates. For Plato (*Ap.* 28e) says that Socrates served on three campaigns: the one against Potidaea, the one against Amphipolis, and the one against the Boeotians, when the battle at Delium took place. And although no one else records this, he also claims (*Smp.* 220e–1c) that Socrates won the prize for valor when all the Athenians ran away and many of them actually died. Everything he says is a lie. For the campaign against Amphipolis took place in the archonship of Alcaeus,<sup>168</sup> and Cleon commanded a force of select men, according to Thucydides (cf. 5.2.1). Socrates must therefore have been one of these select men, although he owned nothing except an inexpensive robe and a staff!<sup>169</sup> What historian, then, or poet mentioned this? Or where did Thucydides allude to Socrates the Platonic

<sup>167</sup> Cf. 5.187d.

<sup>168</sup> 422/1 BCE. But perhaps there was also fighting there in 437–436, when the city was founded.

<sup>169</sup> Viz. because he is imagined here as the archetypal Greek philosopher.

τί γὰρ ἀσπίδι ξύνθημα καὶ βακτηρία;

πότε δὲ καὶ εἰς Ποτίδαιαν ἐστρατεύσατο, ὥς ἐν τῷ  
 Χαρμίδῃ εἶρηκεν ὁ Πλάτων φάσκων αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν  
 ἀριστείων τότε Ἀλκιβιάδῃ παραχωρῆσαι; τοῦτο οὔτε  
 Θουκυδίδου ἀλλ' οὐδ' Ἰσοκράτους εἰρηκότος ἐν τῷ  
 Περὶ τοῦ Ζεύγους. ποίας δὲ καὶ μάχης γενομένης  
 ἔλαβε τὰ ἀριστεία Σωκράτης καὶ τί πράξας ἐπιφανὲς  
 καὶ διάσημον; καθόλου μάχης μηδεμιᾶς συμπεσού-  
 f σης, | ὡς ἱστώρηκε Θουκυδίδης. οὐκ ἀρκεσθεῖς δὲ  
 ταύτῃ τῇ τερατολογίᾳ ὁ Πλάτων ἐπάγει καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ  
 Δηλίῳ γενομένην, μᾶλλον δὲ πεπλασμένην ἀνδραγα-  
 θίαν. εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὸ Δήλιον ἡγήκει Σωκράτης, ὡς  
 ἱστορεῖ Ἡρόδικος ὁ Κρατήτειος ἐν τοῖς Πρὸς τὸν  
 Φίλοσωκράτην, ἅμα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀσχημόνως ἂν ἔφυ-  
 γε, Παγώνδου δύο τέλη περιπέμψαντος τῶν ἱππέων ἐκ  
 τοῦ ἀφανοῦς περὶ τὸν λόφον. τότε γὰρ οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὸ  
 216 Δήλιον || τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἔφυγον, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ θάλατταν,  
 ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπὶ Ὠρωπόν, οἱ δὲ <πρὸς> Πάρνηθα τὸ ὄρος.  
 Βοιωτοὶ δ' ἐφεπόμενοι ἔκτεινον καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἱππεῖς  
 οἳ τε αὐτῶν καὶ <οἱ> Λοκρῶν. τοιούτου οὖν κυδοιμοῦ  
 καὶ φόβου καταλαβόντος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, μόνος Σω-  
 κράτης βρενθυόμενος καὶ τῷ φθαλμῷ παραβάλλων  
 εἰστήκει ἀναστέλλων τὸ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Λοκρῶν ἱππικόν;  
 καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἀνδρείας αὐτοῦ οὐ Θουκυδίδης μέμνη-  
 ται, οὐκ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς < . . . > ποιητής. πῶς δὲ καὶ τῶν

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makes no mention of his bravery, and neither does any other . . . poet. And how can he give up the prize for valor in favor of Alcibiades, who took no part whatsoever in this campaign? But in the *Crito* (52b)<sup>172</sup> Plato, the friend of the goddess Memory, says that Socrates (*SSR V.A F 200*) never left Attica except for his trip to the Isthmus. Socrates' student Antisthenes gives the same account as Plato about the prize for valor;

But this story is not true. (Stesich. *PMG* 192.1)<sup>173</sup>

For this bastard too shows tremendous favoritism toward Socrates, and as a result no one who takes Thucydides as his guide should put any confidence in either of them. Because Antisthenes goes even further in his misrepresentation, saying the following: "We hear that you also won the prize for valor in the battle against the Boeotians." "Hush, stranger; the honor belongs to Alcibiades, not to me." "Because you gave it to him, so we hear." Whereas Plato's Socrates claims that he was present at Potidaea (*Chrm.* 153b–c) and gave up the prize for valor to Alcibiades (cf. *Smp.* 220e)<sup>174</sup>. But all historians agree that the expedition against Potidaea, when Phormio served as general, preceded the expedition against Delium.<sup>175</sup>

The philosophers thus lie about everything and fail to realize that much of what they write is full of anachronisms. The noble Xenophon is unaware of this, for example, in his *Symposium* (1.2), where he represents Callias the son of Hipponicus<sup>176</sup> as in love with Autolycus the son

<sup>174</sup> In fact Alcibiades is speaking.

<sup>175</sup> The former took place in 432 BCE, the latter in 424 BCE.

<sup>176</sup> *PAA* 554500.      <sup>177</sup> *PAA* 239835.



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of Lycon<sup>177</sup> and as giving a feast for him after he won the pancration, and represents himself as present along with the other dinner-guests, although he may well not even have been born yet or was only a boy. This is the period when Aristion was eponymous archon;<sup>178</sup> because it was in his archonship that Eupolis staged his *Autolycus* (test. i), with Demostratus<sup>179</sup> as producer, and made fun of Autolycus' victory. Again, Xenophon in his *Symposium* (8.32–3) represents Socrates as saying the following: And yet Pausanias, the lover of the poet Agathon, says in defense of those who wallow in lust that the most valiant military unit would be made up of boys and their lovers; because, he said, he thought that they would be particularly ashamed to desert one another—which is an extraordinary thing to say, if the idea is that people who are used to ignoring hostile comments and behaving shamelessly with one another would be particularly ashamed of doing something shameful! But that Pausanias actually said none of this can be learned from Plato's *Symposium*. I know of no treatise written by Pausanias; and no author other than Plato introduces him talking about the use to which lovers and boys could be put. The question, however, of whether Xenophon has lied about this or happened on a *Symposium* by Plato with different contents, can be set aside; but the chronological error requires discussion. Aristion, in whose year the symposium is supposed to be held, was archon four years before Euphemus<sup>180</sup>, in whose year Plato (cf. *Smp.* 173a) has set Agathon's victory celebration, where Pausanias spells out his views on erotic attraction. It

<sup>178</sup> 421/20 BCE.                      <sup>179</sup> PAA 319190.

<sup>180</sup> Eponymous archon for 417/16 BCE.

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is therefore remarkable and strange if, when Socrates is having dinner at Callias' house, he censures as inappropriate remarks that have not yet been made and that were, in fact, only ventured four years later at the party for Agathon. But Plato's *Symposium* is complete nonsense; because when Agathon took the prize, Plato was 14 years old. For Agathon was crowned at the Lenaia during the archonship of Euphemus, while Plato was born during the archonship of Apollodorus<sup>181</sup>, who came after Euthydemus. He lived 82 years and passed on in the archonship of Theophilus,<sup>182</sup> who came after Callimachus and is the 82nd archon;<sup>183</sup> and the 14th archon after Apollodorus and the birth of Plato is Euphemus, in whose year Agathon's victory-feast is celebrated. Plato himself makes it clear that this party took place much earlier when he says the following in his *Symposium* (172c): "If you think that the party took place recently, so that I was there too." "I certainly do," he said. "Where did you get that idea, Glaucon?", I said. "Don't you realize that Agathon hasn't been in the country for many years?" And further on (173a) he says: "But tell me—when did this party take place?" And I said that it happened when we were still boys, when Agathon was victorious with his tragedy. That Plato makes numerous chronological errors is clear from many passages. For, as the poet says (adesp. *PMG* 1020),

whatever comes to

that follows serves to distinguish this Apollodorus from the Apollodorus who was eponymous archon in 350/49.

<sup>182</sup> 348/7 BCE.

<sup>183</sup> Sc. after Apollodorus.

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an untimely tongue,

he shows no discrimination and writes it down. Because he never said anything without writing it down, but did so † quite deliberately, as he says when he writes in his *Gorgias* (471a): “So according to your argument, then, this Archelaus<sup>184</sup> is miserable?” “He is, my friend, if he’s unjust.” And then, after saying explicitly that Archelaus is in control of the Macedonian throne, further on he writes the following (503c): and this Pericles who died recently. But if Pericles is recently dead, Archelaus is not in control of the throne; and if Archelaus is king, Pericles died a very long time ago. Perdiccas, in fact, reigned for 41 years before Archelaus according to Nicomedes of Acanthus (*FGrH* 772 F \*2), for 35 years according to Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F 279), for 40 years according to Anaximenes (*FGrH* 72 F 27), for 28 years according to Hieronymus (*FGrH* 154 F 1), and for 23 years according to Marsyas (*FGrH* 135/6 F 15) and Philochorus (*FGrH* 328 F 126). Of the various numbers offered, let us take the smallest, which is 23 years. Pericles died in the third year of the Peloponnesian War, when Epameinon was eponymous archon,<sup>185</sup> in the year when . . . died . . . Perdiccas, and Archelaus inherits the kingship. How then could Pericles be recently dead, as Plato puts it? In the same *Gorgias* (473e–4a), Plato represents Socrates as saying: And last year when I was chosen by lot to be a member of the Council, when my tribe supplied the prytaneis and I had to put a question to the vote, I made everyone laugh, since I was unable to do it. Socrates did this not because he

<sup>184</sup> Archelaus, king of Macedon, reigned c.413–399 BCE.

<sup>185</sup> 429/8 BCE.



218 πρῶτῳ Ἑλληνικῶν ἐκτιθεὶς οὕτως· τῶν δὲ πρυτάνεων  
 τινων οὐ φασκόντων προθήσειν τὴν διαψηφισιν παρὰ  
 τοὺς νόμους, αὐθις Καλλίξεινος ἢ ἀναβὰς κατηγόρει  
 αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ ἐβόων καλεῖν τοὺς οὐ φάσκοντας· οἱ δὲ  
 πρυτάνεις φοβηθέντες ὡμολόγουν ἅπαντες προθήσειν  
 πλὴν Σωκράτους τοῦ Σωφρονίσκου. οὗτος δὲ οὐκ ἔφη,  
 ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους πάντα ποιήσειν. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ  
 διαψηφισμὸς ὁ γενόμενος κατὰ τῶν περὶ Ἑρασινίδην  
 στρατηγῶν, ὅτι τοὺς ἐν Ἀργινοῦσσαις ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ  
 ἀπολομένους οὐκ ἀνείλοντο. ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ ναυμαχία  
 ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Καλλίου, τῆς Περικλέους τελευτῆς ὕστε-  
 ρον ἕτεσιν εἴκοσι καὶ τέτταρσιν.

- b Ἀλλὰ ἢ μὴν καὶ ὁ ἐν τῷ Πρωταγόρᾳ διάλογος, μετὰ  
 τὴν Ἰππονίκου τελευτὴν γενόμενος παρειληφότος ἤδη  
 τὴν οὐσίαν Καλλίου, τοῦ Πρωταγόρου <μέμνηται>  
 παραγεγονότος τὸ δεύτερον οὐ πολλαῖς πρότερον ἡμέ-  
 ραις. ὁ δ' Ἰππόνικος ἐπὶ μὲν Εὐθυδήμου ἄρχοντος  
 στρατηγῶν παρατέτακται μετὰ Νικίου πρὸς Τανα-  
 γραίους καὶ τοὺς παραβοηθοῦντας Βοιωτῶν καὶ τῇ  
 μάχῃ νενίκηκε. τέθνηκε δὲ πρὸ τῆς ἐπ' Ἀλκαίου διδα-  
 σκαλίας τῶν Εὐπόλιδος Κολάκων οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ  
 c κατὰ τὸ εἶκός· πρόσφατον ἢ γάρ τινα τοῦ Καλλίου τὴν  
 παράληψιν τῆς οὐσίας ἐμφαίνει τὸ δράμα. ἐν οὖν  
 τούτῳ τῷ δράματι Εὐπολὶς τὸν Πρωταγόραν ὥς ἐπι-  
 δημοῦντα εἰσάγει, Ἀμειψίας δ' ἐν τῷ Κόννῳ δύο πρό-

186 PAA 558605; Xenophon and our other sources consistently spell his name Callixenus.

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was unable, but rather because he was brave; for he was unwilling to violate the laws of the democracy. Xenophon makes this clear in Book I (7.14–15) of the *Hellenica*, where he makes the following remarks: When some of the prytaneis refused to put the question contrary to the laws, Callixeinus<sup>186</sup> mounted the speaker's stand again and began to denounce them. And other people were shouting that those who refused should be put on trial. The prytaneis were frightened and all agreed to put the question, with the exception of Socrates the son of Sophroniscus. He refused and said that he would do everything according to the laws. This is the vote that took place about Erasinides<sup>187</sup> and his fellow-generals, because they failed to recover the bodies of the men who died in the naval battle at Arginusae. The battle took place during the archonship of Callias,<sup>188</sup> 24 years after Pericles' death.

Likewise the conversation in the *Protagoras*, which takes place after Hipponicus' death, when Callias<sup>189</sup> has already inherited his property, refers (309c–d) to Protagoras as having arrived in Athens for a second time a few days earlier. But Hipponicus was general during the archonship of Euthydemus<sup>190</sup> and was stationed along with Nicias opposite the men of Tanagra and the other Boeotians who came to their assistance, and won the battle. He apparently died shortly before the performance of Eupolis' *Flatterers* (test. ii) during the archonship of Alcaeus,<sup>191</sup> for the play

<sup>187</sup> PAA 400045. Erasinides and a number of the other generals were executed. <sup>188</sup> 406/5 BCE. <sup>189</sup> See 1.22f n.

Callias' father Hipponicus (below) is PAA 538910.

<sup>190</sup> 431/0 BCE. The events referred to here, however, took place in 426/5, and the correct archon's name is Euthynus.

## BOOK V

makes it clear that Callias' inheritance of the property was a recent event. In this play, then, Eupolis introduces Protagoras as present in Athens, whereas Amipsias in his *Connus* (test. ii), staged two years earlier, does not include him in his chorus of thinkers. It is thus clear that he arrived between those dates. Plato (*Prt.* 314b–c, 315b–c) represents Hippias of Elis as being in Athens at the same time as Protagoras, along with some of his fellow-citizens, who are unlikely to have spent time in Athens without being in danger before the conclusion of the one-year truce in the month of Elaphebolion during the archonship of Isarchus.<sup>192</sup> But Plato assumes that the conversation took place around the time when the truce had recently been concluded. He says (*Prt.* 327d), at any rate: For if human beings were savages like the ones the poet Pherecrates put onstage last year at the Lenaia. *Savages* (test. i) was staged during the archonship of Aristion,<sup>193</sup> and the next archon after him was Astyphilus, who was the fifth archon after Isarchus, in whose year the truce was concluded. For there was Isarchus, then Ameinias, after him Alcaeus, then Aristion, and then Astyphilus. Plato is thus contradicting history when he introduces Hippias and his companions, who were from an enemy state, in Athens in his dialogue when no truce was in place.

Elsewhere (*Ap.* 21a) Plato says that Chaerephon asked the Pythia if anyone was wiser than Socrates, and she answered (Delphic Oracle H3 Fontenrose) that no one was. Here too Xenophon (*Ap.* 14) disagrees with him: For when Chaerephon inquired once in Delphi about me, Apollo

<sup>191</sup> 422/1 BCE.

<sup>192</sup> 424/3 BCE.

<sup>193</sup> 421/0 BCE.

σοφώτατον ἀπάντων ὑπὸ τοῦ πάντα ἐπισταμένου θεοῦ  
ἀναρρηθῆναι; εἰ γὰρ τοῦτό ἐστι σοφία, τὸ μηδὲν  
εἰδέναι, τὸ πάντα εἰδέναι φανλότης ἂν εἴη. τίς δ' ἦν  
χρεία τῷ Χαιρεφῶντι παρενοχλεῖν τὸν θεὸν περὶ Σω-  
κράτους πυνθανόμενον; αὐτὸς γὰρ ἦν ἀξιόπιστος ὑπὲρ  
219 αὐτοῦ λέγων ὡς οὐκ ἐστι σοφός. ||

βλάξ γάρ τις ἦν τοιαῦτ' ἐρωτῶν τὸν θεόν,  
ὡς ἂν εἰ καὶ τοιαῦτα, τίνα τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἐρίων ἄλλ'  
ἐστὶ μαλακώτερα, εἰ τῶν ἐν Βάκτροις καμῆλων εἰσὶ  
τινες δυνατώτεροι, ἢ εἰ Σωκράτους ἐστί τις σιμότερος;  
τοὺς γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα πυνθανομένους εὐστόχως ἐπιρ-  
ραπίζει ὁ θεός, ὡς καὶ τὸν πυνθόμενον, εἴτ' Αἰσωπός  
ἐστιν ὁ λογοποιὸς ἢ ἄλλος τις,

πῶς ἂν πλουτήσαιμι, Διὸς καὶ Λητοῦς υἱέ;  
χλευάζων ἀπεκρίνατο·

εἰ τὸ μέσον κτήσαιο Κορίνθου καὶ Σικυῶνος.

- b Ἀλλὰ μὲν οὐδ' ὦν ὁ Πλάτων | εἶρηκε περὶ Σω-  
κράτους τῶν κωμικῶν τις εἶρηκεν, οὐθ' ὅτι μαίαιας  
βλοσυρᾶς υἱὸς ἦν οὐθ' ὅτι Ξανθίππη χαλεπὴ ἦν γυνή,  
ἥτις καὶ νιπτῆρας αὐτοῦ κατέχει τῆς κεφαλῆς, οὐθ' ὡς

<sup>194</sup> Zenob. 3.57 explains the proverb "Might I have what is be-  
tween Corinth and Sicyon" thus: "Applied to those pray to have

Ἀλκιβιάδῃ συνεκοιμήθη ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν γενόμενος  
 χλαῖναν. καίτοι ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τοῦτο ἐκκωδωνισθῆναι  
 ὑπὸ Ἀριστοφάνους τοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ κατὰ  
 Πλάτωνα· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐσίγησε τοῦτ' Ἀριστοφάνης <  
 . . . > ὥς τοὺς νέους διαφθείροντος. Ἀσπασία μέντοι ἡ  
 c σοφὴ τοῦ Σωκράτους διδάσκαλος τῶν ῥητορικῶν |  
 λόγων ἐν τοῖς φερομένοις ὥς αὐτῆς ἔπεσιν, ἅπερ  
 Ἡρόδικος ὁ Κρατήτειος παρέθετο, φησὶν οὕτως·

“Σώκρατες, οὐκ ἔλαθές με πόθῳ δηχθεὶς φρένα  
 τὴν σὴν  
 παιδὸς Δεινομάχης καὶ Κλεινίου. ἀλλ’  
 ὑπάκουσον,  
 εἰ βούλει σοι ἔχειν εὖ παιδικά, μηδ’ ἀπιθήσης  
 ἀγγέλῳ, ἀλλὰ πιθοῦ, καὶ σοι πολὺ βέλτιον  
 d ἔσται.” |  
 καὶ γὰρ ὅπως ἤκουσα, χαρᾶς ὑπο σῶμα λιπαίνω  
 ἰδρῶτι, βλεφάρων δὲ γόος πέσεν οὐκ ἀθελήτως.  
 “στέλλον πλησάμενος θυμὸν Μούσης κατόχοιο,  
 ἧ τόνδ’ αἰρήσεις, ὥσιν δ’ ἐνίει ποθέουσιν·  
 ἀμφοῖν γὰρ φιλίας ἦδ’ ἀρχή, τῇδε καθέξεις

<sup>195</sup> Probably intended as a colloquial way of saying “who constantly said abusive things to him.” For Xanthippe’s vile temper, see *X. Mem.* 2.2.7; *Smp.* 2.10; but Socrates himself was doubtless an extremely aggravating spouse. <sup>196</sup> Cf. *Pl. Ap.* 23d.

<sup>197</sup> *PAA* 222330; she lived with the Athenian politician Pericles after his marriage ended. Despite Plato, she certainly did not teach Socrates rhetoric.

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tioned by any comic poet: not the fact that he was the son of a burly midwife (*Tht.* 149a), nor that Xanthippe was a difficult wife who used to pour washing-water over his head,<sup>195</sup> nor that he slept with Alcibiades under the same robe (*Smp.* 219b–c). Yet Aristophanes, who was at the symposium, according to Plato, would have to have made a great deal of noise about this, because Aristophanes would not have kept silent about this, . . . on the ground that he was corrupting the young men.<sup>196</sup> In fact, the wise Aspasia<sup>197</sup>, who taught Socrates rhetoric (cf. Pl. *Menex.* 235e), says the following in the verses Crates' student Herodicus cites, which are attributed to her (*SH* 495.1–10):<sup>198</sup>

“Socrates, I did not fail to note that your heart is  
stung with desire  
for the son of Deinomache and Cleinias.<sup>199</sup> Pay  
attention  
if you want to be successful at seducing boys, and do  
not disbelieve  
the messenger, but believe her, and you will be much  
better off.”  
When I heard this, I was so overjoyed that my body  
shone  
with sweat, and tears fell from my eyes not against  
my will.  
“Prepare yourself by filling your heart with a  
dominating Muse,  
with whose help you will capture him, and pour her

<sup>198</sup> The author is in fact almost certainly Herodicus himself.

<sup>199</sup> Alcibiades.



αὐτόν, προσβάλλων ἀκοαῖς ὀπτήρια θυμοῦ.”

κυνηγεῖ οὖν ὁ καλὸς Σωκράτης ἐρωτοδιδάσκαλον  
ἔχων τὴν Μιλησίαν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ αὐτὸς θηρεύεται, ὥς ὁ  
Πλάτων ἔφη, λινοστατούμενος ὑπὸ Ἀλκιβιάδου. καὶ  
e μὴν οὐ διαλείπει γε κλαίων | ὥς ἄν, οἶμαι, δυσημερῶν.  
ἰδοῦσα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν οἷῳ ἦν καταστήματι Ἀσπασία  
φησὶν·

“τίπτε δεδάκρυσαι, φίλε Σώκρατες; ἦ σ’ ἀνακινεῖ  
στέρνοις ἐνναίων σκηπτὸς πόθος ὄμμασι  
θραυσθεῖς  
παιδὸς ἀνικήτην; τὸν ἐγὼ τιθασὸν σοι ὑπέστην  
ποιῆσαι.”

ὅτι δὲ ὧντως ἦρα τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου δῆλον ποιεῖ Πλάτων  
f ἐν τῷ Πρωταγόρᾳ, καίτοι μικρὸν ἀπολείποντος | τῶν  
τριάκοντα ἐτῶν. λέγει δ’ οὕτως· “πόθεν, ὦ Σώκρατες,  
φαίνει; ἢ δηλαδὴ ἀπὸ κυνηγεσίου τοῦ περὶ τὴν Ἀλ-  
κιβιάδου ὥραν; καὶ μὴν μοι καὶ πρόην ἰδόντι καλὸς  
ἐφαίνετο ὁ ἀνὴρ ἔτι ἀνὴρ μέντοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὥς γε  
ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς εἰρῆσθαι, καὶ πώγωνος ἤδη ὑποπιμ-  
220 πλάμενος.” || “εἶτα τί δὴ τοῦτο; οὐ σὺ μέντοι Ὅμηρου  
ἐπαινέτης εἶ, ὃς ἔφη χαριεστάτην ἧβην εἶναι τοῦ  
ὑπηνήτου, ἣν νῦν Ἀλκιβιάδης αὐτὸς ἔχει;”

Πεφύκασι δ’ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν φιλοσόφων τῶν κωμι-  
κῶν κακῆγοροι μᾶλλον εἶναι, εἴ γε καὶ Αἰσχίνης ὁ  
Σωκρατικὸς ἐν μὲν τῷ Τηλαύγει Κριτόβουλον τὸν



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into his longing ears.

For she is the beginning of a friendship between the two of you, and you will use her to get control of him, by offering his ears glimpses of your soul."

The noble Socrates thus goes hunting with the Milesian<sup>200</sup> as his instructor in love, and is not himself the quarry, as Plato (*Smp.* 219b) claimed, and caught in Alcibiades' net. Nor does he stop wailing in the way someone would, I think, if luck were against him. Because when Aspasia sees the state he is in, she says (*SH* 495.11–14):

"Why have you been weeping, my dear Socrates?  
Does shattered desire  
that dwells in your breast and falls like a lightning  
bolt at the glance of a boy  
who cannot be conquered stir you up? I promised to  
tame him  
for you."

Plato in his *Protagoras* (309a–b) makes it clear that Socrates was actually in love with Alcibiades, even though Alcibiades was almost 30 years old. He says the following: "Where have you come from, Socrates? No doubt from hunting Alcibiades' youthful beauty? The man did indeed still look handsome to me when I saw him recently. But he's a man, Socrates, just between the two of us, and is already getting a full beard." "And what does that matter? Don't you applaud Homer, who said (*Od.* 10.279) that the loveliest stage of youth is when someone is just getting a beard, which is the age Alcibiades himself is now?"

<sup>200</sup> Aspasia.

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Most philosophers have more abusive tongues than comic poets so, given that in his *Telauges* Socrates' student Aeschines (SSR VI.A F 84) mocks Critoboulus the son of Crito<sup>201</sup> for his ignorance and filthy lifestyle, and makes vigorous fun of Telauges<sup>202</sup> himself for paying a fuller half an obol per day to rent the robe he wore, and for wrapping himself in a sheepskin, fastening his shoes with rotten rope, and [corrupt]. In his *Aspasia* (SSR VI.A F 61) he refers to Hipponicus son of Callias<sup>203</sup> as a fool, and to Ionian women generally as grasping adulteresses. His *Callias* (SSR VI.A F 73) contains a comparison of Callias with his father, and mockery of the sophists Prodicus and Anaxagoras; for he says that Prodicus (84 A 4b D-K) produced Theramenes<sup>204</sup> as his student, while the other fellow<sup>205</sup> (59 A 22 D-K) produced Philoxenus the son of Eryxis<sup>206</sup> and Ariphrades<sup>207</sup> the brother of the citharode Arignotus, his goal being to use the depravity of the individuals he named and their greed for foul behavior to illustrate the sort of education provided by these teachers. And in his *Axiochus* (SSR VI.A F 56) he bitterly disparages Alcibiades as a drunk interested in other men's wives.

Antisthenes in *On the Second Cyrus*<sup>208</sup> (SSR V.A F 141) abuses Alcibiades, saying that he lacked respect for the law

<sup>204</sup> PAA 513930. Theramenes was a late 5th-century Athenian politician routinely denounced in our sources as an unscrupulous opportunist.

<sup>205</sup> Anaxagoras.

<sup>206</sup> The notorious glutton

(PA 14707) referred to also at 1.6b.

<sup>207</sup> PAA 202305;

Stephanis #399. Aristophanes repeatedly denounces him for his alleged devotion to cunnilingus (esp. *Eq.* 1278–89).

<sup>208</sup> Cyrus the Younger, whose revolt against his brother Artaxerxes II came to an end at the Battle of Cunaxa in 401 BCE.

δρομήν περιέχει τῶν Ἀθήνησιν δημαγωγῶν, ὁ δ' Ἀρχέλαος Γοργίου τοῦ ῥήτορος, ἡ δ' Ἀσπασία τῶν Περικλέους νύων Ξανθίππου καὶ Παράλου διαβολήν· τούτων γὰρ τὸν μὲν Ἀρχεστράτου φησὶν εἶναι συμβιωτὴν τοῦ παραπλήσια ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν μικρῶν οἰκημάτων ἐργαζομένου, τὸν δ' Εὐφήμου συνήθη καὶ γνώριμον τοῦ φορτικὰ σκώπτοντος καὶ ψυχρὰ τοὺς συναντῶντας. καὶ Πλάτωνα δὲ μετονομάσας Σάθωνα ἀσυρῶς καὶ φορτικῶς τὸν ταύτην ἔχοντα τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν διάλογον | ἐξέδωκε κατ' αὐτοῦ. τούτοις γὰρ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς σύμβουλος εἶναι δοκεῖ, οὐ στρατηγὸς φρόνιμος, οὐ σοφιστὴς ἀξιόλογος, οὐ ποιητὴς ὠφέλιμος, οὐ δῆμος εὐλόγιστος ἀλλ' ἢ Σωκράτης ὁ μετὰ τῶν Ἀσπασίας ἀνλητρίδων ἐπὶ τῶν ἐργαστηρίων συνδιατρίβων καὶ Πίστωνι τῷ θωρακοποιῷ διαλεγόμενος καὶ Θεοδότῃ διδάσκων τὴν ἐταίραν ὡς δεῖ τοὺς ἐραστὰς παλεύειν, ὡς Ξενοφῶν παρίστησιν ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἀπομνημονευμάτων. τοιαῦτα γὰρ ποιεῖ αὐτὸν παραγγέλματα | τῇ Θεοδότῃ λέγοντα, ἃ οὔτε Νικῶ ἢ Σαμία ἢ Καλλιστράτη ἢ Λεσβία ἢ Φιλαινὶς ἢ Λευκαδία, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Πυθόνικος συνεωράκασιν πόθων θέλγητρα· οὗτοι γὰρ περὶ ταῦτα ἡσχόληντο περιττῶς. ἐπιλείποι δ' ἂν μ' ὁ πᾶς

<sup>209</sup> PAA 730515 and 765275, respectively.

<sup>210</sup> PAA 211100; nothing else is known about this man, and the name is common.

<sup>211</sup> I.e. prostitutes in brothels.

221 χρόνος, εἰ ἐκτίθεσθαι βουλευθείην τὰς σεμνὰς τῶν φιλοσόφων μέμψεις. κατὰ γὰρ αὐτὸν δὴ τὸν Πλάτωνα· ἐπιρρεῖ δὲ ὄχλος μοι τοιούτων Γοργόνων || καὶ Πηγάσων καὶ ἄλλων ἀμηχάνων πλήθει τε καὶ ἀτοπία τερατολόγων τινῶν φύσεων. διόπερ κατασιωπήσομαι.

Τοσαῦτα τοῦ Μασουρίου εἰπόντος καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων θαυμασθέντος διὰ σοφίαν ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς σιωπῆς γενομένης ἔφη· δοκεῖτέ μοι, ἄνδρες δαιτυμόνες, σφοδροῖς κατηντλήσθαι λόγοις παρὰ προσδοκίαν βεβαπτίσθαι τε τῷ ἀκράτῳ·

ἀνὴρ γὰρ ἔλκων οἶνον, ὡς ὕδωρ ἵππος,  
Σκυθιστὶ φωνεῖ, κούδὲ κόππα γινώσκων·  
< \* \* \* >

b κεῖται δ' ἄναυδος ἐν πίθῳ κολυμβήσας, |  
κάθυπνος ὡς μήκωνα φάρμακον πίνων,

φησὶν ὁ Βυζάντιος Παρμένων. ἢ ἀπολελίθωσθε ὑπὸ τῶν προειρημένων Γοργόνων; περὶ ὧν <ὡς> ὄντως γεγόνασιν τινα ζῶα ἀπολιθώσεως ἀνθρώποις αἷτια, ἱστορεῖ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μύνδιος ἐν δευτέρῳ Κτηνῶν Ἱστορίας οὕτως· τὸ ζῶον<sup>34</sup> καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐν Λιβύῃ Νομάδες, ὅπου καὶ γίνεται, κατώβλεπον. ἐστὶν δέ, ὡς μὲν οἱ πλείστοι λέγουσιν ἐκ τῆς δορᾶς σημειούμενοι, προβάτῳ ἀγρίῳ ὅμοιον, ὡς δ' ἐνιοὶ φασι, μόσχῳ.  
c ἔχειν δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτὸ τοιαύτην | ἀναπνοὴν ὥστε

<sup>34</sup> τὴν γοργόνα τὸ ζῶον ACE

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cas, nor Pythonicus of Athens<sup>216</sup> ever thought of as love-charms, although they expended tremendous effort on such matters. But all the time in the world would be insufficient, if I wanted to catalogue the philosophers' self-important fault-finding. To quote Plato (*Phdr.* 229d) himself: A crowd of such Gorgons, winged horses, and other impossible creatures, and a bizarre collection of monstrous forms presses upon me. I will therefore be quiet.

After Masurius completed this speech and everyone expressed amazement at his learning, there was a silence, and Ulpian said: My fellow-diners, it appears to me that you have been unexpectedly engulfed in a violent rush of words and drowned in unmixed wine.

For a man who gulps down wine as a horse does  
water  
speaks Scythian, and unable to recognize the letter  
*koppa*

\*       \*       \*

He lies there, unable to speak, swimming in the  
wine-jar,  
asleep, like someone who consumes opium,

says Parmenon of Byzantium (fr. 1, p. 237 Powell). Or have you been turned to stone by the Gorgons mentioned above? As for them, that there are actually creatures capable of turning people to stone is recorded by Alexander of Myndus in Book II of the *Inquiry into Flocks and Herds* (fr. I.6 Wellmann), as follows:<sup>217</sup> The Numidians in Libya, where the creature is found, refer to it as a *katōblepos*. Ac-

<sup>217</sup> Cf. Ael. NA 7.5.

πάντα τὸν ἐντυχόντα τῷ ζῷῳ διαφθείρειν. φέρειν δὲ  
 χαίτην ἀπὸ τοῦ μετώπου καθειμένην ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλ-  
 μούς, ἣν ὁπόταν μόγῃς διασεισαμένη διὰ τὴν βαρύ-  
 τητα ἐμβλέψῃ, κτείνει τὸν ὑπ' αὐτῆς θεωρηθέντα οὐ  
 τῷ πνεύματι, ἀλλὰ τῇ γιγνομένη ἀπὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων  
 φύσεως φορᾷ καὶ νεκρὸν ποιεῖ. ἐγνώσθη δὲ οὕτως. τῶν  
 μετὰ Μαρίου τινὲς ἐπὶ Ἰογόρθην στρατευσαμένων  
 ἰδόντες τὴν γοργόνα δόξαντές τε διὰ τὸ κάτω νενευ-  
 κέναι βραδέως τε κινεῖσθαι ἄγριον εἶναι πρόβατον  
 d ὥρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτὸ | ὥς κατεργασόμενοι οἷς εἶχον  
 ξίφεσι. τὸ δὲ πτοηθὲν διασεισάμενόν τε τὴν τοῖς  
 ὄμμασιν ἐπικειμένην χαίτην παραχρῆμα ἐποίησε  
 τοὺς ὀρμήσαντας ἐπ' αὐτὸ νεκρούς. πάλιν δὲ καὶ  
 πάλιν τὸ αὐτὸ ποιησάντων ἐτέρων νεκρῶν τε γενη-  
 θέντων, αἰετῶν προσφερομένων ἀπολλυμένων, ἱστο-  
 ρήσαντές τινες παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τὴν τοῦ ζώου  
 φύσιν, μακρόθεν ἐνεδρεύσαντες αὐτὸ ἱππῆς τινες Νο-  
 μάδες Μαρίου κελεύσαντος κατηκόντισαν ἡκόν τε  
 φέροντες πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸ θηρίον. τοῦτο μὲν  
 e οὖν ὥς ἦν ἄρα τοιοῦτο | ἡ δὲ δὸρὰ ἣ τε Μαρίου στρατεία  
 μηνύει· ἐκείνο μέντοι τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱστοριο-  
 γράφου οὐκ ἐστὶ πιστόν, ὥς εἰσὶ τινες κατὰ τὴν  
 Λιβύην ὀπισθονόμοι καλούμενοι βόες διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔμ-  
 προσθεν αὐτοὺς πορευομένους νέμεσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦ-  
 πίσω ὑποχωροῦντας τοῦτο ποιεῖν· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς  
 ἐμπόδιον πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν νομῆν τὰ κέρατα  
 οὐκ ἄνω ἀνακεκυφότα, καθάπερ τὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ζώων,  
 ἀλλὰ κάτω νενευκότα καὶ ἐπισκοτοῦντα τοῖς ὄμμασι.

## BOOK V

according to most authorities, who draw their conclusions from its skin, it resembles a wild sheep, although some say that it resembles a calf. They claim that its breath is capable of killing anything that encounters the creature; its hair hangs down from its forehead over its eyes, and whenever it shakes it aside (which is difficult, because it is so heavy) and looks at someone, it kills the man it sees, not with its breath but with the force naturally produced by its eyes, and strikes him dead. It was discovered in the following way. Some soldiers who accompanied Marius in his campaign against Jugurtha<sup>218</sup> saw the gorgon, and because it kept its head bent low and moved slowly, they concluded that it was a wild sheep and set off after it, intending to kill it with the swords they were carrying. It was startled and shook aside the hair that covered its eyes, and immediately struck the men who were charging forward toward it dead. After other men did the same thing repeatedly and were killed, since anyone who attacked it died, some of them asked the locals about the animal; and at Marius' orders, Numidian horsemen set an ambush a long way from it, killed it with javelins, and came to the general carrying the beast. That the creature was in fact as described is demonstrated both by its skin and by Marius' expedition. But the other story told by the historian is unbelievable, which is that there are cows in Libya referred to as *opisthonomoi* ("backward-grazers") because they do not move forward as they graze, but go backward as they do this. For they are

<sup>218</sup> c.107 BCE.



## BOOK V

prevented from grazing in the normal way by their horns, which do not curve upward, like the horns of other animals, but bend down and shade their eyes. This is unbelievable, and no other historian confirms it.

After Ulpian made these remarks, Larensius confirmed his report and expressed agreement, saying that Marius had sent skins from these creatures back to Rome and that, as a result of their strange appearance, no one had been able to figure out what animal they were from. He also said that these skins had been dedicated in the temple of Heracles, where generals celebrating triumphs offer the citizens a feast, as many of our people's poets and prose-authors say. So as for you, my grammarians, who do not inquire into anything like this, to quote Herodicus of Babylon (*FGE* 233–8 = *SH* 494):<sup>219</sup>

Flee, students of Aristarchus, over the wide back of  
the sea  
from Greece, you who are more cowardly than the  
brown deer,  
buzzers-in-corners, masters of the monosyllable,  
concerned with  
*sphin* versus *spōin* and *min* versus *nin*.<sup>220</sup>  
This is what I wish for you, storm-tossed ones. But  
may Greece  
and Babylon, child of the gods, always be there for  
Herodicus.

As the comic poet Anaxandrides (fr. 55) puts it:

It's a pleasure,

<sup>220</sup> Alternative forms of two Greek pronouns.

## ATHENAEUS

πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ ἔχουσι τῆς τέχνης κριτήν,  
εἶτα φθονοῦνται. χρὴ γὰρ εἰς ὄχλον φέρειν  
ἅπανθ' ὅσ' ἂν τις καινότητ' ἔχειν δοκῇ.

ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις ἀναχωροῦντες οἱ πολλοὶ λελη-  
θότως διέλυσαν τὴν συνουσίαν.

## BOOK V

when you come up with some new idea,  
to show it to everyone. Whereas those who keep their  
cleverness to themselves  
first of all have no one to evaluate their art,  
and also are resented. For you have to offer the  
crowd  
everything you think provides some novelty.

At those words most of the group left, and the party gradually broke up.

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